

BYZANTINE IMAGES
and their Afterlives

Essays in Honor of Annemarie Weyl Carr

Edited by
LYNN JONES

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BYZANTINE IMAGES AND THEIR AFTERLIVES

The twelve papers written for this volume reflect the wide scope of Annemarie Weyl Carr's interests and the equally wide impact of her work. The concepts linking the essays include the examination of form and meaning, the relationship between original and copy, and reception and cultural identity in medieval art and architecture.

Carr's work focuses on the object but considers the audience, looks at the copy for retention or rejection of the original form and meaning, and always seeks to understand the relationship between intent and perception. She examines the elusive nature of "center" and "periphery," expanding and enriching the discourse of manuscript production, icons and their copies, and the dissemination of style and meaning. Her body of work is impressive in its chronological scope and geographical extent, as is her ability to tie together aspects of patronage, production and influence across the medieval Mediterranean.

The volume opens with an overview of Carr's career at Southern Methodist University, by Bonnie Wheeler. Kathleen Maxwell, Justine Andrews and Pamela Patton contribute chapters in which they examine workshops, subgroups and influences in manuscript production and reception. Diliana Angelova, Lynn Jones and Ida Sinkevic offer explorations of intent and reception, focusing on imperial patronage, relics and reliquaries. Cypriot studies are represented by Michele Bacci and Maria Vassilaki, who examine aspects of form and style in architecture and icons. The final chapters, by Jaroslav Folda, Anthony Cutler, Rossitza Schroeder and Ann Driscoll, are linked by their focus on the nature of copies, and tease out the ways in which meaning is retained or altered, and the role that is played by intent and reception.

Lynn Jones is Associate Professor in the Department of Art History, Florida State University, Tallahassee, USA.



Annemarie Weyl Carr

Byzantine Images and their Afterlives

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Edited by
Lynn Jones

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About the Editor

Lynn Jones is Associate Professor in the Department of Art History at Florida State University. Her work focuses on the nature of identity in the medieval eastern Mediterranean. She is the author of multiple articles, chapters in edited volumes, and the book *Between Islam and Byzantium: Aght'amar and the Visual Construction of Medieval Armenian Rulership* (Ashgate, 2007). She is currently at work on a new monograph, *Cappadocia and Monumental Painting in Eleventh-Century Byzantium: The Rock-Cut Church of Meryem Ana*.

About the Contributors

Justine M. Andrews is Associate Professor at the University of New Mexico. Her recent publications include “Gothic and Byzantine in the Monumental Arts of Famagusta: Diversity, Permeability and Power,” in *Medieval and Renaissance Famagusta: Studies in Architecture, Art and History*, edited by Nicholas Coureas, Peter Edbury and Michael J.K. Walsh; and “Conveyance and Convergence: Painting and Architecture in Medieval Cyprus,” in a special issue of *Medieval Encounters* titled *Mechanisms of Exchange: Transmission in Medieval Art and Architecture of the Mediterranean*, edited by Heather Grossman and Alicia Walker.

Diliana Angelova is Assistant Professor of Early Christian and Byzantine art at the University of California, Berkeley. She has written on Late Antique art and published an award-winning article on the iconography of the early Byzantine empresses. A monograph, titled *Sacred Founders: Women, Men, and Gods in the Roman and Early Byzantine Discourse of Founding* is forthcoming from the University of California Press.

Michele Bacci, Professor of Medieval Art History at the University of Fribourg, Switzerland, is the author of several publications on the cultural and art-historical contacts of East and West in the Middle Ages, and on the history of the religious practices associated with cult objects and holy sites. His books include *Il pennello dell’Evangelista*, *Pro remedio animae*, *Lo spazio dell’anima* and *San Nicola il Grande Taumaturgo*.

Anthony Cutler is the Evan Pugh Professor of Art History at Pennsylvania State University and is the author of numerous books and articles, such as *The Hand of the Master: Craftsmanship, Ivory, and Society in Byzantium* (Princeton University Press) and *Byzantium, Italy and the North: Papers on Cultural Relations* (Pindar Press). He has been the recipient of multiple fellowships, including four at Dumbarton. In 2011–12 he was Slade Professor of Fine Art at Oxford

University. He is currently working on his book, *The Empire of Things: Gifts and Gift Exchange Between Byzantium, the Islamic World, and Beyond*.

Ann Driscoll is an independent scholar, living in Chapel Hill, North Carolina. Her research centers on twelfth-century Italian painted crosses, and her publications include "The Croce Dipinta of Alberto Sotio in Spoleto," *Spoletium: Rivista di Arte Storia Cultura*, 47/3 (2010).

Jaroslav Folda is the N. Ferebee Taylor Professor of the History of Art, emeritus, at the University of North Carolina. His recently published book is *Crusader Art: 1099–1291* (Lund Humphries, 2008). He is currently completing a new book on chrysography and the imagery of the Virgin and Child, "Hodegetria", enthroned, c. 1250–1311.

Kathleen Maxwell is Associate Professor in the Department of Art and Art History, Santa Clara University. She has published several articles and her book, titled *Between Constantinople and Rome: Paris Gr. 54 and the Union of Churches*, is forthcoming.

Pamela A. Patton is Associate Professor of Art History at Southern Methodist University and a specialist in the art and architecture of the medieval Iberian Peninsula. Her publications include *Pictorial Narrative in the Romanesque Cloister: Cloister Imagery and Religious Life in Medieval Spain* (Peter Lang, 2004) and *Art of Estrangement: Redefining Jews in Reconquest Spain* (Penn State Press, 2012), along with other articles and essays on the intersections between visual culture and community identity in later medieval Iberia.

Rossitza B. Schroeder is an Assistant Professor of Arts and Religion at the Pacific School of Religion in Berkeley, California. She is currently finishing a book about monastic practice and visual culture in late Byzantium.

Ida Sinkević is Associate Professor of Art History at Lafayette College, Pennsylvania. Her publications include articles on Byzantine art and architecture, and the book *The Church of St. Panteleimon at Nerezi: Architecture, Programme, Patronage*.

Maria Vassilaki is Professor of Byzantine Art History at the Department of History, Archaeology and Social Anthropology of the University of Thessaly at Volos. She has curated and co-curated exhibitions, such as the "Mother of God: Representations of the Virgin in Byzantine Art" (Benaki Museum, Athens 2000) and "Byzantium 330-1453" (with Robin Cormack, Royal Academy of Art, London 2008). Her latest books are *The Painter Angelos and Icon-Painting*

in Venetian Crete (Ashgate, 2009) and *The Icons in the Tositsas Mansion, Metsovo: The Collection of Evangelos Averoff* (in Greek, Athens 2012).

Bonnie Wheeler, Director of the Medieval Studies Program and Associate Professor of English at Southern Methodist University, has edited, co-edited and co-written 13 books, most recently *The Letters of Heloise and Abelard: A Translation of their Collected Correspondence and Related Writings* (2009). She still serves on the Executive Board of the Committee on Teaching the Middle Ages (TEAMS), which she founded. Founding editor of *Arthuriana*, she is also editor of peer-reviewed book series for Palgrave Macmillan, including *The New Middle Ages* and *Arthurian and Courtly Cultures*. At present Wheeler is finishing a book on the “work” of medieval humiliation.

Preface

Images and Afterlife: Essays in Honor of Annemarie Carr

Lynn Jones

The concepts linking the chapters in this volume are familiar ones: the examination of form and meaning; the relationship between original and copy; and reception and cultural identity in medieval art and architecture. They are familiar because they ask questions that are central to the study and understanding of our discipline. Annemarie Weyl Carr's work has expanded the ways in which we think about such fundamental questions and the ways in which we apply them to the objects we study. Her work focuses on the object but considers the audience; looks at the copy for retention or rejection of the original form and meaning; and always seeks to understand the relationship between intent and perception. She examines the elusive nature of "center" and "periphery," expanding and enriching the discourse of manuscript production, icons and their copies, and the dissemination of style and meaning. Her body of work is impressive in its chronological scope and geographical extent, as is her ability to tie together aspects of patronage, production and influence across the medieval Mediterranean.

Annemarie's work is perhaps best characterized by the pellucid nature of her writing, which conveys complex arguments with clarity and authority. She does not always tackle her subjects in the expected manner, or reach what the reader might presume will be the expected outcome. Who else would take as their subject the identity of an "Armenian" icon and suggest, convincingly, that is not Armenian but rather a product of Crusader workshops—in an essay written for a symposium accompanying an exhibition of Armenian art in which the icon in question was exhibited as "Armenian"?¹ Who else would begin an article on the Virgin's girdle with a portrait of Emma, Anglo-Saxon

¹ "Threads of authority: The Virgin Mary's veil in the Middle Ages." In *Robes and Honor: The Medieval World of Investiture*. Ed. Stewart Gordon, 59–93. New York: Palgrave, 2001.

queen, and then trace its various iterations in the medieval west before landing, resoundingly, in Byzantium, having demonstrated the effects of tradition, Christian confession and artistic influence on what was previously viewed as a collection of cultural-specific motifs?² In these and in her many other publications Annemarie shows us new ways of looking and new methods of teasing out unexpected answers.

Her encyclopedic knowledge and painstaking examination of the objects created in this period, and in these places, allows her to make new connections and establish new patterns. This is particularly true of her work on the arts of Cyprus, where she has been able to untangle the many strands of influence and identify the equally complex internal and external forces that drove the creation of particular types and forms of art. Her Cypriot work has been instrumental in focusing scholarly attention on the “Sweet Land,” bringing Cyprus more fully into the discourse of both eastern and western medieval art history. We eagerly await further publications.

Annemarie has what I can best term enthusiastic generosity, a trait that never diminishes or waivers. When prompted, she will discuss her work; but she is most keen to find out what *you* are up to. She does not criticize, but probes and pokes, gently, at problem areas. Once the patient has been diagnosed, she offers remedies: sources, resources, methodologies and comparanda. For her students she has been, and no doubt will continue to be, an unfailing support—writing what must now be thousands of letters, each crafted to a particular situation, often for very flustered young students at very late notice.³ I leave the encomia of her teaching skills and the overview of her history at Southern Methodist University to her long-time colleague and friend, Bonnie Wheeler. I add only that Annemarie’s complete lack of negativity—often a more encouraging trait than relentless positivity—has buoyed many a floundering neophyte. She has proved both an inspiration and a very tough act for her students to follow as they mentor their own students. I feel confident that I am not the only one who has remembered with chagrin my shortcomings and Annemarie’s patient encouragement, and, in emulation and with varying degrees of success, quashed my exasperation and impatience with students.

Her service to the field, and to her chosen areas of study, has smoothed the way for those who follow her. She has been instrumental in increasing the profile of Byzantine studies in many institutions, publications and conferences. Her work as trustee for the Cyprus American Archaeological

² “Icon-tact: Byzantium and the art of Cilician Armenia.” In *Papers from a Symposium on Armenian Art at the Morgan Library*. Ed. Thomas Mathews. New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, 1998.

³ I will confess to this, relieving others of suspicion of such blithe foolishness. Annemarie’s willingness to write a letter on my behalf for a significant grant less than 12 hours before the deadline typifies her willingness to always go the extra mile for her students.

Research Institute has been seminal in opening meaningful dialog between the many disciplines now active in Cypriot studies. Annemarie has helmed major journals, including *Gesta*, and has been elected to lead influential academic organizations, including the International Center of Medieval Art. She has been elected—or has volunteered—to sit on innumerable boards and committees. Her ferocious dedication to the furtherance of Byzantine studies—in all its variants—is matched only by her truly formidable work ethic.

Three chapters in this volume focus on manuscripts. Kathleen Maxwell re-examines the “decorative style” group first published by Carr. She redefines the subgroups, linking some more closely with Constantinople in general and with the Kokkinobaphos Master in particular. Justine M. Andrews and Pamela A. Patton tease out the nuanced changes in form and meaning of Byzantine prototypes as they are repurposed in illuminated manuscripts produced in Cyprus and Castile.

Three chapters take on issues of intent and reception. Diliana Angelova’s study examines anew the works of Pulcheria, reassessing the messages of piety in works usually seen as monuments to dynastic power. Another powerful woman is the subject of Lynn Jones’s chapter, which traces the nature of Byzantine identity outside of the empire, using the relic(s) of the True Cross and Radegund of Poitiers as case studies. Ida Sinkević follows the iterations of the so-called “Rhodes Hand” of John the Baptist as it is appropriated and physically adapted to better convey specific cultural and religious ideologies.

Annemarie’s work on Cyprus and on Cypriot icons and their proliferation is reflected in the chapters by Michele Bacci and Maria Vassilaki. Michele Bacci examines the cross-cultural use of architectural styles by Lusignan patrons on Cyprus, focusing on the role these forms played in the social construction of Lusignan identity from medieval through to early modern times. Maria Vassilaki takes up the thorny question of Constantinopolitan or Cypriot influence in icon painting on Crete in the early fifteenth century, showing the intersections of influence and tradition in icon workshops.

The nature of copies, their changing form and meaning is examined in four chapters, by Anthony Cutler, Jaroslav Folda, Rossitza B. Schroeder and Ann Driscoll. Anthony Cutler identifies a forged “Byzantine” ivory panel and traces its subsequent lives as it is carved and re-carved to better suit the visual expectations of what it means to “be Byzantine” in modern art markets. Jaroslav Folda remarks on the origins and development of *çintamani* from the sixth to the sixteenth centuries, using three of its “afterlife” manifestations. Rossitza B. Schroeder examines the adoption and adaptation of the iconography of the “Heavenly Ladder” of John Klimakos from manuscript illuminations to a monastic fresco in the late Byzantine period. Ann Driscoll examines the influence of one painter, Alberto Sotio, on the iconography and style of subsequent, twelfth–thirteenth-century painted crosses in Italy.

It is with gratitude that her colleagues and former students offer these essays to celebrate her work.⁴ Taken together, the chapters collected in this volume reflect the wide scope and chronology of Annemarie's interests. In their individual subjects and methodologies they also reflect the impact of Annemarie's work.

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I thank Janice Mann, former Chair of the Department of Art History, Southern Methodist University, for generously providing a subvention allowing for color plates. Many thanks to Gerald Carr for providing a perfect photograph of Annemarie. I am grateful to the contributing authors for their timely cooperation and for their patience with the many, many delays incurred on the way to publication. Thanks are also due to my research associates, Sarah Andyshak, Brad Hostetler and Sarah Simmons, each of whom helped to mask my utter failure to master anything involving technology.

⁴ The genesis of many of these chapters was an event in 2008 sponsored by the Department of Art History and the Meadows Museum at Southern Methodist University, on the occasion of her retirement: *The Afterlife of Forms: Symposium in Honor of Annemarie Weyl Carr*. Helen Evans and Dorothy Shepard, key participants in the symposium, were unfortunately unable to submit to this volume.

Introduction: The Collegial Life of Annemarie Weyl Carr

Bonnie Wheeler

My work always tried to unite the truth with the beautiful,
but when I had to choose one or the other, I usually chose the beautiful.

Hermann Weyl, quoted by Freeman J. Dyson, *Nature* (March 10, 1956)

We have lost something in the age of nano-sized laser pointers. I suspect that (along with their doctoral “sheepskins”) young art historians now get secret surgery that implants beams into their digit fingers. In my memory, when I recall Annemarie Weyl Carr over the long trajectory of our overlapping teaching careers at Southern Methodist University (SMU), during which we regularly team-taught, I think first of changes in technology as they affected her teaching. Our Jules Feiffer heroine, Annemarie—slim, long, liquid in movement, ethereal, always literally reaching upward—started teaching when the dominant teaching technology included a wooden rod the size of a billiard cue that she carried to point to a particular section of a slide projected onto the classroom screen which she wanted us to observe. No, I am wrong: she did not “point.” Rather she attached the rod to her hand like an extra appendage as she strode, swiveled, and leapt up to bring us to *see* what she saw. We saw, of course; but we saw also what she couldn’t see: herself, making all those bits of images not just meaningful but also enhanced by concentrated beauty. She and the stick: one. Then the intermediate years, when she buried a telescopic metal pointer in her capacious purse and would suddenly whip it open like a wizard’s staff to extend full length. This instrument still had the same effect: she twirled from podium to screen image. Then the last decade of our final joint teaching years, when pixels replaced slides and the piercing laser-red (why red?) pointer fiercely played across the image to concentrate on the desired passage. First it was shaped like a flashlight, then a pen, then

a mini-object on a key ring. No need now for Annemarie to move from the podium, though sometimes inspiration absorbed her so that she turned away from our students to engage the screen, almost melting into the image she herself was then seeing anew. Even when she lectured with hands perched on the podium, she always seemed about to take flight.

I have known and admired AWC since we first met at SMU in 1975. She came to SMU straight from her doctoral program in Michigan in 1972 and by 1975, as an assistant professor, was already chairing her young department. I arrived in 1975 after my early professional years teaching at Columbia. We shared some of the travails of the tenure process. Early on, we improbably conspired, with the guidance of historian Jeremy Adams, a more experienced collaborative teacher, to put together some cross-disciplinary medieval studies courses. From these we had developed by 1978 one of the USA's earliest full-fledged medieval studies programs. It endured largely because Annemarie was such a willing collaborator. We now offer not only an undergraduate major but also a master's degree; we try to bring together colleagues from across our region to participate in medieval seminars and reading groups. Before her retirement, we had taught together for more than 30 years on a range of cross-disciplinary courses. I never had the pleasure of participating in any of her purely art history courses, but I had their benefit sideways since she constantly brought what she was thinking, teaching, and learning into our persistently refreshed syllabi. Along with Jeremy and religious historian Bill Babcock, she taught us, her team of delighted if sometimes benighted co-teachers, to take fuller account in our courses and research not only of Byzantium and Islam but also of the wider medieval worlds to the east and south. The medieval west with which I was most familiar was tamed and finally understood as a limiting if convenient fiction. Our classes always overflowed with students who somehow seemed to know that they were participants with us in something new and precious.

Great art historians develop rich vocabularies since they must articulate what they see. Annemarie's vocabulary is as vast as it is precise. Why say "highly amusing" if it is really "pixilating"? Why use several words meaning "breaking apart" if you can say "fissiparous"? Art historians also, given their role as verbal interpreters of the visual, were aware early in the development of their multifaceted discipline of "ways of seeing": the objects one studies stand independent of whatever interpretations one assigns to them. Annemarie always retreats from the hubris of the ego-driven, one-theory-fits-all scholar. She stays keenly aware of the primacy of the object and the necessary humility of the interpreter. In some cases, she is too humble about her formidable achievements as a scholar and teacher. Would you believe that this self-effacing person intended to pursue a career on the Broadway stage? I suppose one can imagine that possibility if one thinks about how carefully AWC tries to understand different personalities. But can you imagine that, not long before her retirement, she tried (unsuccessfully, thank goodness) to resign

as University Distinguished Professor because she thought herself unworthy of the honor? She does everything, from caring for her cats to mentoring her students, with profound humility. More than anyone I know, she puts herself in someone else's subject position as she tries to understand his or her hopes, dreams, needs, and failures. She would have been a superb actress, but her love of scholarship saved her from a life of impersonation.

It may seem odd that a place like Southern Methodist University was her institutional home all those years. Why not a grander place? Timing, perhaps: somehow jobs for Byzantinists remained rare. Alas, SMU has not replaced Annemarie with either a Byzantinist or even another medievalist.

The Medieval Academy of America selected Annemarie to give its plenary address at the International Congress of Medieval Studies on May 13, 2011. Introducing her, Cecily Hilsdale noted:

At the center of Professor Carr's research agenda are issues of canonicity. In cases where her objects of study fail to align with established art historical categories of analysis, Professor Carr offers a rigorous reconsideration of those categories, one that questions what people mean when they speak of western or eastern visual idioms, and what they mean when they discount styles on the basis of either designation. Such questions recur most insistently in medieval Cyprus and it is to Cypriot art in particular that Professor Carr has directed her keen eye, methodological rigor, sharp insights, and her eloquence. To this end, she has published widely in the most significant journals of the field, many of which have recently found a new home in a her Variorum volume *Cyprus and the Devotional Arts of Byzantium* (2005); moreover her attention to Cyprus has resulted in a study on the murals of Lyssi (1991) and a co-edited volume on the church and frescoes of Asinou (2011).

Some important trajectories of Professor Carr's research are indexed by papers she has given at Kalamazoo. Her first paper here was in 1977 on the "Scriptorium and atelier in Byzantine manuscripts," a topic related to her dissertation, which was published as *Byzantine Illumination, 1150–1250: The Study of a Provincial Tradition* in 1987. She also first presented here a 1991 paper on the icon of the Mother of God of the Kykkos Monastery in Cyprus. This is a project to which Professor Carr has recently returned. ... Other Kalamazoo papers mapped out her research interests in Crusader art and Colonialism, Women and Art, Patronage, and the Latin Levant. ...

The most salient feature of Annemarie Weyl Carr's distinguished and ongoing career is the distinctive manner in which she complicates the terms, concepts, and contexts through which we interpret the difference between east and west in a way that ultimately transcends that very difference. The result is a nuanced, complex—and exciting—understanding of the many different cultures that constitute the Mediterranean Middle Ages.

In speaking about AWC's intellectual life at her SMU retirement event, distinguished art historian Erica Dodd spoke about Annemarie's doctoral

dissertation that morphed into her first published book. AWC “established beyond any possible doubt that there was a period when provincial centers produced exceptionally high quality artistic work, and that there were concentrated centers in Cyprus and Palestine.” That brave assertion of Annemarie’s youthful work is now an accepted truism. With Annemarie in Dallas, our provincial center produced students who met exceptionally high academic standards (as the subsequent chapters in this collection by her students and colleagues she mentored demonstrate). Perhaps, with our current craze for rhizomic metaphors, academe is (almost) ready to abandon rigid notions of east and west, capitals and provinces, and adopt inter-tangled cross-influences: provinces and even fringes (even such places as Dallas) are often bolder than their sometimes more rigid capitals. That very idea is central to Carr’s own work on Cyprus.

Annemarie gave generously to SMU and she received some fine rewards that were her due. She received faculty awards for Excellence in Teaching; the Methodist Church’s award for Outstanding Teacher and Scholar; the Meadows Foundation Distinguished Teaching Fellowship; election to Phi Beta Kappa; and receipt of our Phi Beta Kappa chapter’s Perrine Prize for Intellectual Excellence. In a grand set of going-away parties, her students and colleagues publicly acclaimed her. How much happier her life at SMU might have been had SMU recognized her husband Gerald Carr’s great merit by awarding him tenure, and thus she and Gerald might have been able to share their professional lives more proximately. She faced that painful setback with staunch fortitude.

AWC never shirked any kind of university service. For three decades she was the one person in the School of the Arts (art history at SMU lives in the practical world of artist training) who was asked to join every general university committee. She took these duties willingly, knowing what they would cost her in lost research time. She helped forge the brilliant general education curriculum for undergraduates in the late 1970s: it was arguably then and remained for its duration the most ambitious in the nation. She helped nurture it, helped it flourish, and tried to stem the tide as it fell prey to administrative indifference and collegial careerism. She continued to co-design our team-taught courses in the last vestiges of this curriculum until the year she retired. In spite of its grander professional ambitions, SMU is a smaller, less generous place without her. She understood how to make the province a capital.

She is famous for saying little and pondering deeply so that by the time she speaks on committees, everyone listens. With her deep Quaker commitment to consensus, she tries to puzzle out the issues from the egos as she moves to achieve inclusive results. She is always a peacemaker but never a dealmaker. She never evades questions of conscience or of any unfairness she perceives that is directed at others.

AWC wrote each of her lectures in full. Then she memorized and performed them with only a rare glance at her notes. Her essays and books are subtle and allusive: understanding them fully often requires readers whose cultural resources are as vast as her own. They also require readers who are open to the pleasures of opulent prose poems. No one writes about images of veils with more eloquence. She, of course, is only cognizant of what she doesn't know, so she takes too little pleasure in her own erudition. (Funny how often that is the plague of the woman scholar.) As a teacher, however, Annemarie is as clear and rare as fine crystal. She remains as subtle here as she is in her scholarly thinking; but she is also alert to her students' intellectual situation and limitations, so she acts like a first-class reporter: you always know who, what, where, when, and why about the movement, piece, artist, or place she is discussing. Gerald's magnificent photographs captured many of the images AWC uses in teaching. It is notable that the images she shows in class never include a picture of her: the object is the subject. She sees herself as mere vehicle connecting the student to the real thing.

Most of us, knowing her, would never know from her that she comes from formidable scholarly stock, from a list of such women philosophers as her grandmother Helene Weyl and such male mathematicians as her grandfather Hermann Weyl, who reconceived our world. AWC is too discreet and private to make claims by virtue of association. I opened with an epigraph from her grandfather, Hermann Weyl, the mathematician who left Germany because his wife's Judaism put her and them at risk. One of the early members of the Institute of Advanced Studies, Weyl even co-wrote a book with his brilliant son, Annemarie's adored father, mathematician, and institution-builder F. Joachim Weyl (whose PhD thesis, by the way, was 25 pages in length). Annemarie remembers as a child being sent across from her grandfather's Princeton house to deliver a note to his friend, Albert Einstein. For her, the rumpled Einstein who answered the door "glowed like the sun." Her warm-hearted mother, Martha Bowditch, offspring of grave New England Puritan stock, was brilliant in other ways—bookbinding, papermaking, stitching things and lives together in a most romantic fashion. Looking at her on the deck of a transatlantic ship and speaking to her for the first time, Achim (as he was known in the family, but "Joe" professionally—he reveled in "sluffing off the weight of Europeaness and being just 'Joe'") named her "Sonya," and that name and their love stuck for all her life. (She was a far better Sonya than Martha.) AWC decided not many years ago to mount her totemic frog pin, a precious gift from her father that she wore daily, on a quilt her mother made for her to celebrate her 50th birthday. It brought all their forces together and also unleashed her from the past: not long after that, she shredded a lifetime of lecture notes and started all over again. Her uncle, the powerful art historian Hugo Buchthal, author of that groundbreaking work on crusader manuscript illumination, *Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (1957), and

his circle of art historian friends are Annemarie's other family. She is their full descendant and a true successor. In all, Annemarie is blessed by a family habit of making beauty, seeing freshly the inescapable unity of truth and beauty: all one needs to know.

The careful delicacy with which she treated her students is visible in her extensive comments on student papers. I know former students who have kept papers she graded when they were first-year undergraduates more than 30 years ago. They didn't keep these graded essays out of pride in their own deathless prose. Rather, they cherish the serious commentary she provided in her beautiful small script, often in brown ink, covering page after page. For many, she was the first person to take them seriously as young adults who expressed ideas that required a teacher's thoughtful response. When Sonya discovered an old *Who's Who* in her library after Joe's death, she found this "special greeting from eternal love," as she put it: "Every individual presents infinitely more to you than the issue that has brought him into your presence. Anything you fail to hear of what he has to say leaves you the poorer, and everything you say should be thoughtfully designed, not to diminish his comprehending hold on the world, but to add to his store of resources from yours." Could any statement better describe AWC as teacher, scholar, colleague, and person? Even her most daunting footnotes are gentle.

We co-taught other courses, but the undergraduate course on which we concentrated our energies from 1980 until 2008 took medieval pilgrimage as its topic and point of departure. Medieval pilgrimage is recently suffering a renaissance, but we were engaging the subject "back in the day," before European highways and bike trails made travel easy. Pilgrimage is, after all, a medieval metaphor imaging human experience. I was inspired by Paul Meyvaert's work on the medieval monastic claustrum, and thought it was a terrific opening salvo for thinking about interiority and exteriority when imaging the Middle Ages. Our faculty began to build a pilgrimage course by holding an intense flurry of meetings, each of which discussed common readings. Our initial team included historian Jeremy Adams, religious historian Bill Babcock, Annemarie, musicologist Roger Deschner, spiritual studies/monastic historian/psychologist Thomas Moore, and myself as literary expert. We began with sacred spaces that were goals of Christian pilgrim fervor: Jerusalem, Rome, and Constantinople. We mapped our course, however, largely through the various routes that took us to one of medieval Europe's great inventions, the place and stories of Santiago de Compostela. That choice allowed us many highways, byways, and delicious Cluniac sites. Embedded in our narrative were powerful journey stories (from Augustine and Egeria to Dante's *Paradiso* and Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*).

Over the years, faculty came and went, but Annemarie, Jeremy, Bill Babcock, and I stayed with it as a form of intellectual sustenance and pedagogic good sense. You don't have to believe in God to believe in blessings, and in this

company I was suffused with blessings. We sometimes had wonderful temporary colleagues such as Mark Jordan and Julia Bolton Holloway as well as such SMU-based colleagues as medieval musicologist Donna Mayer-Martin and literary specialist Kenneth Shields, both of whom stayed with the course for the duration of their SMU careers. One of our students in the first iteration of the course, literary specialist Jo Goynes, went on to become a valued colleague. We kept the course fresh by meeting each week for lunch to discuss students, subjects, approaches, and other hot medieval topics (university gossip, it must be admitted, occasionally took up some of our time).

Thus we stayed grounded with each other, our program, and our emerging ideas. We laughed a lot. Nary a lunch went by without Annemarie saying "Jeepers!" at least once. By the last time we taught the course, we had de-centered it. Western crusading as armed pilgrimage was now paired with a more nuanced sense of Islam and jihad. Together we studied the physical and metaphysical Mecca, Haram, and the Ka'aba, reading not just segments of the Koran but also such texts as the *Travels of Ibn Jubayr*. During the first generation of the course, Annemarie and I produced an infamous class on the joys and terrors of cultural miscomprehension. Composing a skit from pieces of original texts, we had a "eunuch" from the Comnenian court attempt unsuccessfully to introduce a "Celt"—a French crusader-knight, the "Barbarian"—to the complex joys of a magnificent imperial water garden. Annemarie dressed in flowing silks; I wore sheepskin. A colleague who prefers to remain unnamed produced loud burps when that elegant eunuch was just too ... well, too eunuchy. Long before 9/11, students saw how difficult and amusing cultural collisions could be, even when intentions were good. They also learned that your allies might seem more like your enemies than do your enemies.

Team-teaching leads to new insights as well when one team-teaches as we did, with every teacher attending every lecture section each week before breaking into smaller weekly discussion sections. A constant thrill was Annemarie introducing students to the luminosity (her favorite word) of the Hagia Sophia, with its immense scale, its architectural/mathematical embodiment of Wisdom, its conscious intertwining of Justinian and Theodora's monogram that celebrated a visionary form of political propaganda. Always we paused to absorb the profoundly gentle apse icon of Mother and Child as well as other, smaller, and some earlier, icons of the Virgin with imperial patrons in the apsidioles of the basilica. We listened to the deeper-than-baritone sixth-century Christmas kontakion, Romanos's *He Parthenos Semeron*. Male voice, female form: for me this illuminated the masculine appropriation of the feminine in an orotund building that itself balanced each to the other. Adding music to the conversation about space amplified our sense both of space and sound. In that kontakion, music meets, matches, and masters space. It was easier for us western historians to have students march to crusade to the beat of *O Roma Nobilis*. And wherever else the term took us, we returned

to the verbal mosaic of the Virgin in Dante's *Paradiso* before we subjected all students to the culturally necessary act of reading and memorizing Chaucer.

Annemarie occasionally joined us in our undergraduate British studies program at Oxford. One year we took students on pilgrimage to Canterbury, stopping at Rochester—a place none of us had previously visited—to study it collectively on the spot. Doing it together, eschewing other authority: this model of the scholar/teacher is vivid in my memory, as is Annemarie's excited small gurgle of laughter as she turned a corner to see something else new and wonderful. In a different decade, one happy summer, Jeremy and I took our beloved little niece Katie with us to Chartres for her first visit. It was August 15; the cathedral was surprisingly empty. Of course we trod the maze and studied the Rose Window, but then we went back to show Katie how scholars had puzzled out the whole story of the Charlemagne window. Standing before us enraptured, looking up at that very window, was Annemarie. It seemed entirely natural, hardly even a coincidence.

In the last iteration of our pilgrimage course together, we went on the road with our students for a tsunami trip from Paris to Santiago. We were only able to hit the highlights, but students huddled around Annemarie at the Charlemagne window; at the apselets (as we enjoyed calling them) in Toulouse; at the mixed artistic modes of Las Huelgas (where I managed to get permission to knight her with the moveable sword on the statue of Santiago); at the frescoes in Léon. What a pleasure to watch her simultaneously inhale and explicate the cloister at Silos! She had studied and taught this stunning site for decades but she had never seen it. We practically crowed with joy when we encountered the vivid, iconographically challenging Romanesque painted columns that had been recently uncovered in the "Chicken Church" (Santo Domingo de la Calzada). Everyplace we went, Annemarie was equally deeply informed, eloquent, engaged, exact—and passionate. Students who might with normal professors sneak off to hit the shops or the bars stayed rapt/wrapped in her company. They wanted more and she always gave more.

Annemarie's signature word is, ever so appropriately, "luminous." For her, life as well as beauty glows, shimmers, enchants, and makes consummate demands. She suffuses you with the tender mysteries of Cyprus's Kykkotissa Madonna. In her work as a teacher and colleague, she unites the truth with the beautiful, and she never chooses one over the other.

Fortunate students, fortunate colleagues: no wonder we feel as bereft as we are grateful.

PART I

MANUSCRIPTS: WORKSHOPS, SUBGROUPS,
AND INFLUENCES

The Afterlife of Texts: Decorative Style Manuscripts and New Testament Textual Criticism

Kathleen Maxwell

Byzantine manuscripts of the decorative style feature illuminations with large, powerfully silhouetted figures with pastel color schemes and flat architecture (Figure 1.1 = Plate 1). Their texts are characterized by a distinctive “low epsilon script” written in dark black ink with magenta titles (Figure 1.2).¹ Decorative style manuscripts date from approximately 1150 to 1250 and comprise the single largest group of manuscripts in Byzantine art. While many are of mediocre quality, some decorative style manuscripts are truly extraordinary. In fact, they represent the only deluxe Greek manuscripts from the first half of the thirteenth century, as well as almost all that is known of Byzantine illuminated manuscripts of the late twelfth century.

Annemarie Weyl Carr published 109 manuscripts of the decorative style group in 1987, and it was she who proposed the title by which they are currently known.² Carr organized the decorative style manuscripts into eight

¹ Paul Canart, “Les ecritures livresques chypriotes du milieu du XI^e siècle au milieu du XIII^e et le style palestino-chypriote ‘epsilon’,” *Scrittura e civiltà*, 5/5 (1981): pp. 17–76.

² Annemarie Weyl Carr, *Byzantine Illumination, 1150–1250: The Study of a Provincial Tradition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987). These manuscripts were once known as manuscripts of the Nicaea School. See pp. 4ff for the historiography of the group. Since 1987, additional manuscripts of the decorative style have been identified; see Annemarie Weyl Carr, “Two illuminated manuscripts at the monastery of Saint Neophytos: Issues of their Cypriot attribution,” in *The Sweet Land of Cyprus*, eds A. Bryer and G.S. Georgiades (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Center, 1993), p. 282, n. 7. An additional 47 manuscripts featuring this script style, but without illustrations, were identified by Canart, “Ecritures livresques chypriotes,” *passim*. A fragmentary Gospel book from the Benaki Museum in Athens (Ms. 2) has recently been identified by the author as a decorative style manuscript. See http://www.csntm.org/Manuscript/View/GA_2557; and K. Maxwell, “A decorative style manuscript (Athens, Benaki, cod. 2) and a cruciform text Gospel Book (Tirana, Albania, ANA 93) ‘discovered’ on www.csntm.org,” 36th Annual Byzantine Studies Conference, University of Pennsylvania, 8–10 October 2010, *Abstracts of Papers*, pp. 64–5.



Fig. 1.1 [Plate 1] Münster, Bibelmuseum der Universität Münster, cod. gr. 10, fol. 154v. Evangelist John the Theologian.

subgroups based on artistic, paleographical, and codicological similarities. She defined three initial, three central, and two late subgroups and was able to assign nearly 80 percent of the decorative style manuscripts to one of the subgroups based on these qualifications.

Carr argues that most decorative style manuscripts probably originated in Cyprus and/or Palestine; but their origin has proven difficult to pinpoint, and some scholars believe that Nicaea or even Constantinople might be more

ἄ, ἐπ' ὁ κανὼν γὰρ:

σὺ εἰ οὐκ ἔστι τοῦ θύ· σὺ εἰ οὐκ ἔστι τοῦ ἡλίου, ὅπως
κρίθῃς, καὶ εἴπω σοι αὐτῶν, ὅτι εἴπω σοι εἰδὼς
σε ὑποκαταστήσω τῆς συκῆς καὶ τοῦ πεύκου· μέγας
τοῦ πῦρος ἔσθαι, καὶ λείπει αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' ἡ λείψανον
αὐτῶν ἐπὶ ὅφθαλμοις τοῦ ὁμοιωσάμενός σου· καὶ τῆς
νιχέλου τοῦ θύ· ἀμείνονας καὶ καταμείνονας.
ἔσθαι τὸν ὅμοιον τοῦ ἀμύου· καὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας τῆς
Γ' αἰῶνος ἐν ἡμέρᾳ τῆς ἐκείνης ἀμύου τῆς νιχέλου, καὶ τῆς
ἡμετέρας τοῦ ἱούδα· ἐκλήθη δὲ καὶ οἱ οἰκοδομοὶ
ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν εἰς τὸν γάμον, καὶ ὑπερῶς ἦν τοῦ
οἴμου· λείπει ἡμετέρας τοῦ ἱούδα πρὸς αὐτοὺς· οἱ μὲν
κεχούρηται, λείπει αὐτῶν οἱ οἰκοδομοὶ καὶ οἱ γυναι
οἱ πρὸς ἡκεῖν ἐς γάμον· λείπει ἡμετέρας τοῦ
ποῖος διακομοῖς· ὅτι ἀλλ' ἐν ἡμέρᾳ τῆς ἐκείνης
ἡμετέρας ἐκείνης ὑπερῶς ἦν οἱ οἰκοδομοὶ κατὰ
τῶν αὐτῶν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ τῆς ἐκείνης· οἱ οἰκοδομοὶ
ἀμείνονας δὲ, ἡμετέρας· λείπει αὐτοῖς οἱ οἰκοδομοὶ
γεμισαὶ πρὸς ὑπερῶς ὑπερῶς· καὶ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ
αὐτῶν ἐς πᾶν· καὶ λείπει αὐτοῖς· ἀμείνονας
μὲν· οἱ οἰκοδομοὶ πρὸς ὑπερῶς ὑπερῶς· οἱ δὲ
ἡμετέρας· οἱ οἰκοδομοὶ πρὸς ὑπερῶς ὑπερῶς·
πρὸς ὑπερῶς οἱ μὲν γεμισαὶ πρὸς ὑπερῶς· καὶ οὐκ ἔστι
πρὸς ὑπερῶς· οἱ δὲ διακομοὶ πρὸς ὑπερῶς
οἱ ἡμετέρας· οἱ οἰκοδομοὶ πρὸς ὑπερῶς· φαρμακίον
μὲν οἱ οἰκοδομοὶ πρὸς ὑπερῶς· καὶ λείπει αὐτῶν.

Fig.1.2 Münster, Bibelmuseum der Universität Münster, cod. gr. 10, fol. 157v. Text page.

plausible.³ The chronology of the decorative style manuscript group has also been challenged by the recent discovery of a new member of the group in Sofia, Bulgaria, that is dated to 1285.⁴

This study attempts to shed light on the origins of decorative style manuscripts by examining their Gospel texts in the context of the scholarship of New Testament textual criticism. I focus especially on the data published since 1998 by the Institut für Neutestamentliche Textforschung of Münster, Germany—henceforth, referred to as the Münster Institute.⁵ The data generated by the Münster Institute reveal surprising connections between the Gospel texts of various members of the decorative style subgroups, as

³ See, for example, Vasileios N. Marinis's entry for a decorative style manuscript in the J. Paul Getty Museum, MS. Ludwig II 5; 83.MB.69 in *Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261–1557)*, ed. Helen C. Evans (New Haven and London: Yale University Press and The Metropolitan Museum of Art, NY, 2004), catalog # 169, pp. 284–5 and n. 1.

⁴ Sofia, Dujčev gr. 339; see Axinia Džurova, *Byzantinische Miniaturen: Schätze der Buchmalerei vom 4. bis zum 19. Jahrhundert* (Regensburg: Schnell und Steiner, 2002), p. 179 and color plate 128.

⁵ The Institut für Neutestamentliche Textforschung (INTF) is associated with the Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität in Münster. The relevant publications are: Kurt Aland and Barbara Aland, eds, in collaboration with Klaus Wachtel and Klaus Witte, *Text und Textwert der Griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments*, vol. 4: *Die Synoptischen Evangelien*, no. 1: *Das Markusevangelium*. 1.1: *Handschriftenliste und vergleichende Beschreibung*. 1.2: *Resultate der Kollation und Hauptliste sowie Ergänzungsliste*. Arbeiten zur Neutestamentlichen Textforschung, nos. 26–7 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1998). Hereafter referred to as *Das Markusevangelium*, 1.1 or 1.2.

Kurt Aland, Barbara Aland, and Klaus Wachtel, eds, in collaboration with Klaus Witte, *Text und Textwert der Griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments*, vol. 4: *Die Synoptischen Evangelien*, no. 2: *Das Matthäusevangelium*. 2.1: *Handschriftenliste und vergleichende Beschreibung*. 2.2: *Resultate der Kollation und Hauptliste sowie Ergänzungen*. Arbeiten zur Neutestamentlichen Textforschung, nos. 28–9 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1999). Hereafter referred to as *Das Matthäusevangelium*, 2.1 or 2.2.

Kurt Aland, Barbara Aland, and Klaus Wachtel, eds, in collaboration with Klaus Witte, *Text und Textwert der Griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments*, vol. 4: *Die Synoptischen Evangelien*, no. 3: *Das Lukasevangelium*. 3.1: *Handschriftenliste und vergleichende Beschreibung*. 3.2: *Resultate der Kollation und Hauptliste sowie Ergänzungen*. Arbeiten zur Neutestamentlichen Textforschung, nos. 30–31 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1999). Hereafter referred to as *Das Lukasevangelium*, 3.1 or 3.2. [N.B. Some errors in *Das Lukasevangelium* were detected after publication; corrections are available on-line at www.uni-muenster.de/INTF/corrections_TITV.3.pdf.]

Kurt Aland, Barbara Aland, and Klaus Wachtel, eds, in collaboration with Klaus Witte, *Text und Textwert der Griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments*, vol. 5: *Das Johannesevangelium*. 1. *Teststellenkollation der Kapitel 1–10*. 1.1: *Handschriftenliste und vergleichende Beschreibung*. 1.2: *Resultate der Kollation und Hauptliste sowie Ergänzungsliste*. Arbeiten zur Neutestamentlichen Textforschung, nos. 35–6 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2005). Hereafter referred to as *Das Johannesevangelium*, 1.1 or 1.2.

N.B. New Testament text critics cite manuscripts by their Gregory-Aland numbers (hereafter referred to as GA numbers) rather than their library shelf numbers. See D[avid] C. Parker, *An Introduction to the New Testament Manuscripts and Their Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 35ff and J[ames] K[ei]th Elliott, *A Bibliography of Greek New Testament Manuscripts*, 2nd ed., (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 1ff for more information. The list of GA numbers is updated on-line at <http://intf.uni-muenster.de/vmr/NTVMR/ListeHandschriften.php> (accessed April 5, 2012).

well as between these manuscripts and others which are not associated with the decorative style. The New Testament text critics' data underscore the

Fig. 1.3 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France (BNF), cod. gr. 75, fol. 95r. Beginning of the Gospel of Mark.



remarkably complex relationships that must have existed between scribes and illuminators, and the books they copied and decorated.⁶

In the following, I will concentrate on the textual data that support the following preliminary conclusions.⁷ First, for the manuscripts of the decorative style assigned by Carr to the initial subgroups, close artistic, paleographical, and codicological ties between manuscripts do not serve as an accurate gauge of textual relationships.⁸ My analysis of the Münster Institute's data suggests that while members of a particular subgroup of the decorative style are usually textually related to at least one other member of their subgroup, they may be more closely related, in their texts, to members of other subgroups of the decorative style or even to unaffiliated Greek manuscripts of various dates.⁹ Second, at least ten decorative style manuscripts demonstrate compelling textual affinities with deluxe Constantinopolitan products such as Oxford, Bodleian Library, E.D. Clarke 10; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF), cod. gr. 75 (Figure 1.3); and Melbourne, National Gallery of Victoria, Ms. 710/5.¹⁰ The latter two manuscripts are associated with one of the most famous Constantinopolitan illuminators of the twelfth century, the Kokkinobaphos Master.¹¹ Third, while the figural style and ornament of decorative style manuscripts lost favor by the end of the thirteenth century, the data generated by the Münster Institute suggest that the Gospel *texts* of decorative style manuscripts continued to serve as exemplars for Byzantine scribes for at least two centuries after the demise of the decorative style itself.

A Note on Methodology

New Testament text critics study approximately 2,000 continuous text Greek manuscripts of the Gospels that survive from the ninth to the fifteenth

⁶ The core manuscripts of the decorative style were first identified and published by New Testament text scholars. See Ernest C. Colwell and Harold R. Willoughby, *The Four Gospels of Karahissar*, vol. 1: *History and Text* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1936), pp. 3ff.

⁷ My study raises some questions that cannot be adequately addressed here. This is especially true of the numerous textual connections between decorative style manuscripts and unaffiliated Byzantine manuscripts that are suggested by the text critics' data. I hope to examine these issues in a future publication.

⁸ Carr, *Byzantine Illumination 1150–1250*, pp. 12–42.

⁹ Unaffiliated manuscripts are Byzantine manuscripts that have not been associated previously with manuscripts of the decorative style. In the tables below, unaffiliated manuscripts will be *italicized*.

¹⁰ All manuscripts cited here are listed in Appendix 1 by their abbreviated title, their library shelf number, and their Gregory-Aland number.

¹¹ Jeffrey C. Anderson, "The Seraglio Octateuch and the Kokkinobaphos Master," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 36 (1982): 83–114.

centuries.¹² These manuscripts' texts are compared in order to recognize variant readings and, on the basis of these variants, to classify the manuscripts by subgroup. Textual variants are typically the result of changes that are introduced in the copying process, including differences in word order, substitutions made by scribes, and mistakes that result when a scribe skips from a similar phrase up or down to the next similar phrase on a page.¹³ Text critics distinguish between accepted variants (those that allow a manuscript to be categorized within a specific subgroup) and those that are more likely to be errors introduced by the current scribe responsible for copying the manuscript.¹⁴ Significant textual variants permit a manuscript to be classified within a specific subgroup.¹⁵ Complete collations of all witnesses of the Gospels are not feasible at the present time, so text scholars selectively examine (that is, collate) a Gospel's text at specific predetermined points which they deem important.

In the following discussion, I will be referring to several different lists of data provided by the Münster Institute in their volumes on the four Gospels.¹⁶ The Group List displays those manuscripts that differ by more than 10 percent from the Majority Text.¹⁷ That is, it lists those Greek manuscripts that are closer to each other than they are to the Majority Text.¹⁸ In addition, the Group

¹² See *Das Markusevangelium*, 1.1, p. 17*. [N.B. See *ibid.*, pp. 17*–28* for an introduction to the volume in English.] Evidence beyond the continuous text Gospel books would include that provided by lectionaries, patristics (the writings of the church fathers), other versions of the Gospels (Latin, Syriac, etc.), and so on. See Parker, *Introduction*, pp. 108 ff.

¹³ Jack Finegan, *Encountering New Testament Manuscript: A Working Introduction to New Testament Text Criticism*, (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001), p. 111. Parker, *Introduction*, p. 4 defines a "variant reading" as "a place where the wording exists in more than one form." Some New Testament text critics still espouse the concept of text type (Alexandrian, Western, Caesarean, and Byzantine), but Parker and others argue that the concept is outmoded. See *ibid.*, pp. 171–4.

¹⁴ Gordon D. Fee, "Textual criticism of the New Testament," in Eldon Jay Epp and Gordon D. Fee, eds, *Studies in the Theory and Method of New Testament Textual Criticism* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993), pp. 14ff.

¹⁵ Bruce M. Metzger, *The Text of the New Testament: Its Transmission, Corruption, and Restoration*, 3rd ed. (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), p. 287. For an extensive bibliography of the numerous histories of New Testament textual criticism, see *ibid.*, pp. 95ff and the Appendix. See also Kurt Aland and Barbara Aland, *The Text of the New Testament*, 2nd rev. ed., translated by Erroll F. Rhodes (Grand Rapids and Leiden: Eerdmans and Brill, 1989), pp. 3–36 and *Das Johannesevangelium*, 1.1: pp. 7*–10*. See also now, Parker, *Introduction*, *passim*.

¹⁶ See above, n. 5.

¹⁷ That is, the *Gruppierung* list (or Table 2.6). See, for example, *Das Markusevangelium*, 1.1, pp. 17*–27* and p. 44 for an explanation of these lists. Table 2.6 begins on p. 45 in *Das Markusevangelium*, 1.1.

¹⁸ The number of manuscripts singled out for analysis varies according to which Gospel text is being analyzed. For Matthew, it is 180 manuscripts; for Mark, 160 manuscripts; for Luke, 206 manuscripts; and for John, 285 manuscripts. That is, it is only in John that significantly more than 10 percent of the extant Greek Gospel manuscripts warrant further analysis.

List includes those manuscripts that are closest to those that differ by more than 10 percent from the Majority Text. Thus, this list provides information about distinctive groupings among Greek Gospel manuscripts.¹⁹ The Majority Text is not a text per se, but rather is “a statistical construct that does not correspond exactly to any known manuscript. It is arrived at by comparing all known manuscripts with one another and deriving from them the readings that are more numerous than any others.”²⁰

Decorative Style Manuscripts: The Subgroups

We return to the subgroups that Carr identified for the manuscripts of the decorative style²¹ (see Table 1.1). To her list of eight subgroups, I have added one more called “Unassigned Gospel Books.” This subgroup includes those Gospel books for which Carr did not have enough evidence to assign to one of her eight subgroups. Usually, these books are missing their illustrations and/or were only available to her in microfilm format. Thirteen Gospel books fall into this category.

The numbers in parentheses in Table 1.1 indicate the total number of manuscripts assigned to each subgroup by Carr, while the right-hand column indicates the number of texts that contain the Gospels in each subgroup. In what follows, I will present only the highlights of my research without any pretense concerning completeness. The volume of data generated by the Münster Institute presents challenges for restricted formats.

¹⁹ Additional lists in the Münster Institute’s volumes are the Main List and the Supplementary List. The Main or *Hauptliste* analyzes the variant readings of the manuscripts that depart more than 10 percent from the Majority Text. It lists the 33 manuscripts whose variant readings for a particular Gospel are closest to it. The Supplementary List or *Ergänzungsliste* ranks the 155 manuscripts that are closest overall to each manuscript, on the basis of all test passages for a particular Gospel, including all the majority readings. This list is found in a softbound booklet that is tucked in the back cover of the second volume of each of the Gospel volumes published by the Münster Institute (see above, n. 5).

It is important to reiterate that the text critical data on a given list only applies to the particular Gospel being analyzed. Furthermore, except in the case of the Gospel of John, 90 percent of extant Greek Gospel manuscripts are so close to the Majority Text that they generate no data whatsoever in the Münster publications. [N.B. In late December 2009, two new on-line grouping tools were introduced by Klaus Wachtel of the Münster Institute for use by New Testament text critics. The “Test Passages: Manuscripts Clusters” tool generates data in a variety of ways that complements the information found in the Münster volumes cited above in n. 5. The on-line tool includes groupings beyond the 90 percent Majority Text limit and thus the information provided is more expansive than that found in the synoptic Gospel volumes (Matthew, Mark, and Luke). The second on-line tool is called the “Parallel Pericopes: Manuscripts Clusters” tool. It is based on complete collations of the Gospel texts of 150 Greek manuscripts. Both tools may be accessed at: http://egora.uni-muenster.de/intf/index_en.shtml (accessed 14 January, 2014).]

²⁰ Michael D. Marlowe, *Bible Research*, “What about the Majority Text?” <http://www.bible-researcher.com/majority.html> (accessed November 19, 2009). See also Parker, *Introduction*, pp. 175–6 and 198–200.

²¹ Carr, *Byzantine Illumination 1150–1250*, pp. 12–125.

Table 1.1 Carr's subgroups of the manuscripts of the decorative style

	Gospel Books
Initial subgroups: (plus 3 "maverick" manuscripts)	3
Chicago (31)	18
Taphou (7)	6
London (5)	5
Central subgroups	
Ludwig (3)	3
Harley (7)	6
Seraglio (10)	0
Late subgroups	
Dionysiou and Berlin (4)	4
Interregnum (17)	15
Unassigned Gospel Books	13
Total number of decorative style manuscripts containing the Gospels	73

The Chicago Subgroup

For the Chicago subgroup—named after Chicago, University Library, Ms. 965—the New Testament text criticism data are as untidy as one would expect of an entity that Carr described as the largest and most unwieldy of all the subgroups of the manuscripts of the decorative style.²² Textual connections among members of the Chicago subgroup are noted in the volumes published by the Münster Institute, but they do not usually correspond to the relationships that Carr articulated based on her assessment of the artistic, paleographical, or codicological evidence. For example, Carr was able, on the basis of such evidence, to further subdivide the 31 manuscripts of the Chicago subgroup into six additional subcategories (a–f).²³ The data published by the Münster Institute identify several pairs of manuscripts from the Chicago subgroup, but yet in no case were both manuscripts within a pair assigned to the same subcategory by Carr. That is, these paired manuscripts do not appear to have detectable ties beyond their texts.²⁴

²² Ibid., p. 12.

²³ Ibid., pp. 13–14.

²⁴ For example, Chicago 965 and Athos, Vatopedi 882 have been linked on the Group List for John's Gospel. See *Das Johannesevangelium*, 1.1, p. 87. Chicago 965 is listed as GA 2400 and Vatopedi 882 is GA 1538 and their agreement is noted at 93 percent overall and 83 percent in their variant readings with 1/1 relationship. This means that there is a first-class relationship between the two manuscripts and that these manuscripts are closer to each other in the Gospel of John than to any other existing texts of that Gospel (for further explanation,

Some members of the Chicago subgroup exhibit close textual relationships with decorative style manuscripts that Carr has assigned to other decorative style subgroups. BnF, Coislin gr. 200, for example, is not linked by the Münster text critics to any of the 30 other manuscripts of the Chicago subgroup, but it is closely related in the text of Matthew to one member each of the Taphou and London subgroups, and to three members of the Harley subgroup.²⁵ Moreover, Coislin 200 is also especially close to Leyden, University Library, Gron. 137 of the Harley subgroup in the Gospel of John,²⁶ but that relationship does not extend to these manuscripts' illustrations or script.

Chicago subgroup members also exhibit close textual relationships with unaffiliated manuscripts, that is, with manuscripts that have never been associated with the decorative style. Coislin 200 is again of interest. It is related by the Münster New Testament text critics to Paris, Bibliothèque Ste. Geneviève 3398, a manuscript dated to 1283.²⁷ While mediocre in quality, the Ste. Geneviève manuscript is one of only two manuscripts dated after 1250 in which Carr detected any trace of decorative style influence.²⁸

Another example is provided by Vatican, Barb. gr. 449—one of only two dated manuscripts of the entire decorative style manuscript group.²⁹ Dated

see *ibid.*, pp. 51–3). Vatopedi 882 is also first on the Supplementary List for Chicago 965 in John. Carr assigned Chicago 965 to the (b) subcategory of the Chicago subgroup and Vatopedi 882 to the (e) subcategory. See *ibid.*, pp. 13–14.

²⁵ See Table 1.1. The Taphou and London subgroups comprise the second and third subgroups of what Carr calls the Initial Subgroups. The Harley subgroup falls in the middle of what Carr calls the Central Subgroups. The Münster text critics link Coislin 200 in the Group List for Matthew to Paris, BnF, gr. 94 of the Taphou subgroup, to Athos, Dochiariou 39 of the London subgroup, and to the following three members of the Harley subgroup: Leyden, University Library, Gron. 137; London, British Library, Harley 1810; and London, British Library, Add. 39595. Moreover, Coislin 200 is textually related to Athens, National Library 153 of the Interregnum Subgroup as well as to several unassigned Gospel books of the decorative style, including Moscow, State Historical Museum 3646. See *Das Matthäusevangelium*, 2.1, pp. 25–6 where Coislin 200 is listed as GA 38.

²⁶ Featuring 96 percent and 100 percent and a 1/1 ratio in John. See *Johannesevangelium* 1.1, p. 56 where Coislin 200 is GA 38 and Leyden, Gron. 137 is GA 435.

²⁷ Ste. Geneviève 3398 is first on the Supplementary List for the Gospel of Matthew for Coislin 200. This means that it is closest to Coislin 200 in Matthew in all text passages sampled; their agreement is 94 percent. See *Das Matthäusevangelium*, 2.2, pp. *8–*9 where Coislin 200 is listed as GA 38 and Ste. Geneviève 3398 is GA 121. [N.B. The more refined data on Klaus Wachtel's on-line "Test Passages: Manuscripts Clusters" tool indicates that, in fact, Harley 1810 (GA 113), Leyden, Gron. 137 (GA 435), and Istanbul, Hagia Sophia 11664 (GA 1808) are all slightly closer to Coislin 200 than Ste. Geneviève 3398. See above, n. 19, for more information about this on-line tool.]

²⁸ The Ste. Geneviève manuscript contains a lattice headpiece which Carr traces back to the Chicago subgroup. See Carr, *Byzantine Illumination 1150–1250*, p. 35. [N.B. Carr refers to the Ste. Geneviève manuscript as 3378 in her index and on p. 174, n. 101.]

²⁹ Vat. Barb. gr. 449 is one of two manuscripts assigned by Carr to subcategory (a) of the Chicago subgroup. The other is the Kraus Gospels (dated 1156) which was never collated by the Münster Institute. Carr identifies these two manuscripts as the earliest manuscripts of the decorative style. Both manuscripts were copied by the monk and scribe Manuel Hagiostephanites. See Carr, *Byzantine Illumination 1150–1250*, pp. 12ff.

to 1153 and one of the central manuscripts of the Chicago subgroup, it is intimately related in the Gospel of John to Cambridge, University Library, Mm. 6.9, a manuscript that has never been affiliated with the decorative style group.³⁰ The Cambridge manuscript is a twelfth-century New Testament and Psalter whose illustrations were not executed, although space was reserved for them. Its black ink text and magenta rubrics are reminiscent of the texts of decorative style manuscripts, but it does not exhibit the “low epsilon script” that is the hallmark of decorative style texts (Figure 1.4).³¹

Palermo, Biblioteca Nazionale, Deposito Museo 4, a core manuscript of the Chicago subgroup assigned to subcategory (“b”) by Carr, is also closely related in John to Athos, Panteleimon 29, another unaffiliated manuscript.³² This is of great interest because these textual affinities underscore significant connections already noted by Carr between Panteleimon 29 and other key manuscripts of the Chicago subgroup.³³ Carr writes:

Panteleimonos 29 ... is very closely allied with the Chicago subgroup itself. Though of higher quality, it is copied in the same, fluent, spidery script, uses a pastel color scheme based on salmon and green, adorns the footstool of Luke with the brocaded pattern seen in the Kraus Gospels, Coislin 200, Vatopedi 939 and Garrett 3, and gives John the posture hunched over an open codex that is so characteristic of the decorative style group. It is not clear whether the book represents the kind of Constantinopolitan vehicle through which metropolitan ideas were transmitted to the decorative style group, or whether it is itself a product of the Chicago subgroup’s ambiance.³⁴

In her analysis of the script of the decorative style manuscripts, Carr draws connections between Panteleimon 29’s diminutive script and that found in

³⁰ In John, they are rated at 97 and 100 percent with a 1/1 relationship on the Group List. Vat. Barb. gr. 449 is GA 162; Cambridge, Univ. Libr., Mm. 6.9 is GA 440. See *Das Johannesevangelium*, 1.1, p. 58.

³¹ To my knowledge, no reproductions of Cambridge Mm. 6.9 have been published. After my presentation at Annemarie Weyl Carr’s symposium in February 2008, I ordered two photographs of the manuscript and forwarded them to Annemarie for her input. I would like to take this opportunity to thank Annemarie for sharing her assessment of these images in an email communication of 5 September, 2008. Outside of the New Testament text criticism literature, Cambridge, Mm. 6.9 has only been described in the *Catalogue of the Manuscripts Preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge*, vol. 4 (Cambridge, 1861), p. 385.

³² In John they are rated at 97 and 100 percent with a 2/1 relationship. See *Das Johannesevangelium*, 1.1, p. 85 where Palermo 4 is GA 2127 (formerly GA 1815) and Panteleimon 29 is GA 1094. For a reproduction of Palermo 4, see Annemarie Weyl Carr, “A group of provincial manuscripts from the twelfth century,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 36 (1982): 39–81, Fig. 36.

³³ Panteleimon 29 is also closely related to Harley 1810, a decorative style manuscript of the Harley subgroup. In the Group List for John’s Gospel, they are rated 96 percent and 100 percent with a 2/1 relationship. Palermo 4 is the third manuscript on this list and Harley 1810 is the fourth manuscript. See *Das Johannesevangelium*, 1.1, p. 72 where Panteleimon 29 is GA 1094, Palermo 4 is GA 2127, and Harley 1810 is GA 113.

³⁴ Carr, *Byzantine Illumination, 1150–1250*, p. 27.

Fig. 1.4 Cambridge, University Library, Mm. 6.9, fol. 203v. Beginning of Romans.

more than a half dozen manuscripts of the Chicago subgroup, including Palermo 4.³⁵ Thus, the textual connection between Palermo 4 and Panteleimon 29 strengthens the connections already noted by Carr regarding the coloration and ornament of its miniatures and select members of the Chicago subgroup of decorative style manuscripts.

More surprising, the Münster New Testament text critics have associated another manuscript that Carr assigned to the Chicago subgroup with a deluxe Constantinopolitan manuscript. Athos, Lavra A' 66 (Chicago subgroup "d") is closely related in John to Oxford, Bodleian Library, E.D. Clarke 10, a first-rate illustrated manuscript of the late eleventh century.³⁶ Of greater interest, Athos, Lavra B' 26 (Chicago subgroup "c") is related in the Group List for Luke's Gospel to Melbourne, National Gallery of Victoria, MS 710/5, a manuscript associated with the workshop of the Kokkinobaphos Master. This Master is associated with some of the most illustrious illuminated manuscripts of the twelfth century.³⁷ Carr herself remarked that one of the decorative motifs of the Chicago subgroup—the vine scrolls with trefoil leaves—found direct parallel in the Melbourne Gospels.³⁸ Carr also notes:

The [Chicago] subgroup's distinctive formulation is due also, however, to a massive infusion of elements from the capital. The lavishness of the ornament and much of its specific vocabulary, the historiated initials and historiated or carpet headpieces, and the diminutive form of the minuscule all belong to this category.³⁹

The textual data generated by the Münster New Testament text critics concerning the Chicago subgroup lead in two different directions. On the one hand, the data rarely reinforce the manuscript groupings of decorative style manuscripts deduced by Carr based on artistic, paleographic, and codicological evidence. This suggests that textual relationships among manuscripts can be somewhat counterintuitive from an art history perspective. When we see close artistic, paleographic, and codicological agreement between and among manuscripts, we expect to find close textual ties as well. While this is sometimes the case, it is not always or even often the case in the Chicago subgroup.

³⁵ Ibid., p. 137.

³⁶ See *Das Johannesevangelium*, 1.1, p. 79 where Athos, Lavra A' 66 is GA 1491 and E.D. Clarke 10 is GA 112. The manuscripts are rated in John at 98 percent and 100 percent with a 3/1 relationship on the Group List.

³⁷ The manuscripts are related in Luke with an overall rating of 89 percent and 50 percent. [N.B. This information is found in the on-line corrections to *Das Lukasevangelium* available at www.uni-muenster.de/INTF/corrections_TTIV.3.pdf page 3 (Athos, Lavra B' 26 is GA 1505 and Melbourne 710/5 is GA 662). Accessed 29 November 2008.]

³⁸ See Carr, *Byzantine Illumination, 1150–1250*, p. 160, n. 36 for additional influences of decorative motifs of the Kokkinobaphos Master's works on the decorative style manuscripts of the Chicago subgroup.

³⁹ Ibid., p. 26.

On the other hand, the textual data can provide surprises. We learn that two members of the Chicago subgroup have textual ties with two deluxe metropolitan products, E.D. Clarke 10 and Melbourne 710/5. Carr does not mention E.D. Clarke 10 in her book, but she has drawn parallels between the ornamental motifs of the Kokkinobaphos Master's manuscripts and those of the Chicago subgroup. In fact, she singled out the Melbourne manuscript especially for its "love of patterned figures and architecture, the lavish ornament, and the historiated initials and headpieces and the love of zoomorphic motifs..."⁴⁰ Thus, in this case, the textual evidence underscores Carr's observations concerning the ornament of the manuscripts of the Chicago subgroup. In the early subgroups of the decorative style manuscripts, the qualitative gap between their figural illustrations and ornament and those of such deluxe metropolitan products is still significant. This gap will narrow as we approach the central and later subgroups of the decorative style manuscripts.

The Taphou Subgroup

Carr assigns seven manuscripts of the decorative style to the Taphou subgroup and describes them as heavily dependent on the Chicago subgroup.⁴¹ All seven probably date to the 1170s and early 1180s.⁴² These manuscripts seem to "reflect a younger group of craftsmen who responded to Taphou 47's newer, more up-to-date models."⁴³ Carr writes:

The books appear ... to represent parallel alternatives and not a linear progression. They draw with such consistency on a central model that they must have been made in close proximity to one another. At the same time, they do not imply a disciplined workshop setting: like the manuscripts in the Chicago subgroup, they suggest a looser context, in which books were made individually by craftsmen who were not constrained to a system of shared production.⁴⁴

Two Taphou subgroup members—Sinai, St. Catherine's Monastery, gr. 149, and Paris, BnF, gr. 94—are closely related by the Münster text scholars on the Group List of Matthew's Gospel and both manuscripts display textual relationships with members of the London, Harley, and Interregnum subgroups.⁴⁵ Sinai

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 160, n. 36.

⁴¹ Six of the seven manuscripts comprising the Taphou subgroup are Gospel books.

⁴² Carr, *Byzantine Illumination, 1150–1250*, p. 32: Carr writes that two manuscripts of the Taphou subgroup—Paris, BnF, gr. 97 and Jerusalem, Orthodox Patriarchate, Taphou 47—have later inscriptions that associate them with Cyprus.

⁴³ Ibid., p. 35.

⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 31.

⁴⁵ *Das Matthäusevangelium*, 2.1, p. 33 where Sinai 149 is GA 1186 and Paris gr. 94 is GA 31. The overall ratio of agreement between the two manuscripts is 95.7 percent; they

149 is also extremely closely related (generating data for both the Gospels of Matthew and John) to Paris, BnF, gr. 88. This is noteworthy because Paris gr. 88 is one of the few manuscripts to be added to the decorative style group after the publication of Carr's book.⁴⁶ In fact, the data generated by the Münster Institute for the Gospel of John indicate the distinct possibility of a copy relationship between Sinai 149 and Paris gr. 88.⁴⁷ Furthermore, Sinai 149, like Lavra A' 66 of the Chicago subgroup, is also textually related to E.D. Clarke 10, the deluxe eleventh-century metropolitan manuscript mentioned earlier. Sinai 149 and E.D. Clarke 10 share a very high agreement in the Gospel of John.⁴⁸ It is of some interest that we now have two manuscripts belonging to two different decorative style subgroups that are textually related to E.D. Clarke 10 in John.

The London Subgroup

The London subgroup, the last of the initial decorative style subgroups, consists of five manuscripts and all are Gospel books. They are:

London, British Library, Add. 37002

Moscow, Russian State Library, F.304/III. No. 28 [formerly F.181 (Gr. 11)]

Athos, Dochiariou 39

Münster, Bibelmuseum der Universität Münster, cod. gr. 10 (Figure 1.1 = Plate 1, Figure 1.2, Figure 1.5 = Plate 2)

Istanbul, Ecumenical Patriarchate, cod. 4.

Carr dates this group to the last years of the twelfth century and notes that they are "more firmly reflective of cosmopolitan currents" both in their figures' larger scale and in their taste for interlace ornament.⁴⁹

share 75 percent of variant readings. The two manuscripts are also intimately linked on the Supplementary List for Matthew where Paris gr. 94 is second on the list for Sinai 149. See *Das Matthäusevangelium*, 2.2, p. *38.

⁴⁶ See Carr, "Two Illuminated Manuscripts at the Monastery of Saint Neophytos," p. 282, n. 7. See also n. 2 above.

⁴⁷ For John, they are ranked at 99 and 100 percent with a 1/1 relationship. See *Das Johannesevangelium*, 1.1, p. 73 where Sinai 149 is GA 1186 and Paris gr. 88 is GA 281.

⁴⁸ See *Das Johannesevangelium*, 1.1, p. 73 where Sinai 149 is GA 1186 and E.D. Clarke 10 is GA 112. The manuscripts are rated at 98 percent and 100 percent with a 2/3 ratio. This means that there is a second-class relationship between the two manuscripts and that three other existing manuscripts have an equally close relationship. In John's Gospel, Sinai 149 scored even closer to E.D. Clarke 10 (number two on its list) than Lavra A' 66 of the Chicago subgroup, which came in at number five. Both Sinai 149 and Lavra A' 66 were rated at 98 percent and 100 percent, with Sinai 149 having a second-class relationship (2/1) and Lavra A' 66 having a first-class relationship (1/2) with E.D. Clarke 10. See *Das Johannesevangelium*, 1.1, p. 57 where E.D. Clarke 10 is GA 112, Sinai 149 is GA 1186 and Lavra A' 66 is GA 1491.

⁴⁹ Moscow F.304/III. No. 28 was in use by 1208 since a burial notice in the manuscript bears that date. See Carr, *Byzantine Illumination, 1150–1250*, p. 39.



Fig. 1.5 [Plate 2] Münster, Bibelmuseum der Universität Münster, cod. gr. 10, fol. 7r. Beginning of Matthew.

Three of these manuscripts—Moscow, F.304/III. No. 28, Dochiariou 39, and Münster 10—are closely related in John's Gospel.⁵⁰ Moreover, another

⁵⁰ See the Group List in *Das Johannesevangelium*, 1.1, p. 90 for Münster 10 (GA 2756). Dochiariou 39 appears first on the list (GA 969) with agreements of 97 percent and 100

member of the London subgroup—London, British Library, Add. 37002—is also textually close to these three manuscripts.⁵¹

Textual relationships between members of the London subgroup and manuscripts of other subgroups of the decorative style are also pronounced in John's Gospel.⁵² And, as seen before, some members of the London subgroup are actually more closely related—textually speaking—to decorative style manuscripts outside of their own subgroup than they are even to members within their subgroup. I will present the Münster Institute's data for Moscow, F.304/III. No. 28—a manuscript assigned by Carr to the London subgroup—to demonstrate the complex textual relationships between decorative style manuscripts and unaffiliated manuscripts (see Table 1.2).

Table 1.2 Moscow, Russian State Library, F.304/III. No. 28 (London subgroup): Rankings from the Supplementary List for the Gospel of John⁵³

1. Münster 10	London subgroup
2. Dochiariou 39	London subgroup
3. Getty, Ludwig II 5	Ludwig subgroup
4. Stavronikita 56	Interregnum subgroup
5. Dionysiou 23	Ludwig subgroup
6. <i>Ferrara Cl. II, 187, III</i>	<i>unaffiliated (dated 1334)*</i>
7. <i>Ochrid 2</i>	<i>unaffiliated (XIII century)**</i>
8. <i>Vienna, Theol. gr. 337</i>	<i>unaffiliated (XIII century)</i>
9. Holkham 114	decorative style/no subgroup assignment
10. <i>Iviron 641</i>	<i>unaffiliated (XV century)</i>
11. <i>Sinai 1342</i>	<i>unaffiliated (XIV century)</i>
12. <i>Paris gr. 73</i>	<i>unaffiliated (XII century)</i>
13. <i>Paris gr 75</i>	<i>(Kokkinobaphos Master workshop)</i>
14. <i>Dochiariou 21</i>	<i>unaffiliated (XI century)</i>
15. <i>Pantokrator 56</i>	<i>unaffiliated (XIII century)</i>
16. London, Add. 37002	London subgroup

percent and 1/1 ranking; and Moscow, F.304/III. No. 28 is second (GA 1375) with agreements of 97 percent and 89 percent and 1/1 ranking. These two manuscripts are also ranked first and second on the Supplementary List of John for Münster 10. See *Das Johannesevangelium*, 1.2, p. *81.

⁵¹ London, BL, Add. 37002 (GA 2278) is number 13 on the Supplementary List for Münster 10. *Das Johannesevangelium*, 1.2, p. *81.

⁵² Texts of the London subgroup manuscripts can be associated with members of the Mavericks, Taphou, Dionysiou, and Berlin, and Interregnum subgroups of the decorative style. Some texts of the London subgroup can also be related to Gospel books of the decorative style that have no subgroup assignment.

⁵³ *Das Johannesevangelium*, 1.2, p. *58 where Moscow, F.304/III. No. 28 is GA 1375.

Table 1.2 Continued

17. London Add. 36752	<i>unaffiliated (XII century)</i>
18. Sinai 163	Ludwig subgroup
19. Athens 204	<i>unaffiliated (X century)***</i>
20. Cracow 1870 I	Dionysiou and Berlin subgroup

- Notes: * Italics indicate unaffiliated manuscripts, that is, manuscripts not previously associated with the decorative style manuscripts.
- ** Unless noted otherwise, all dates are those given in Kurt Aland, *Kurzgefasste Liste der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments*, vol. 1: *Gesamtübersicht* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1963). For more information, see n. 5 above.
- *** Art historians date Athens 204 to the twelfth century. See Carr, *Byzantine Illumination, 1150–1250*, p. 164, n. 23.

In Table 1.2, we see that in John, Moscow, F.304/III. No. 28 is closer to another member of its same subgroup, Münster 10 (Figure 1.1 = Plate 1, Figure 1.2, Figure 1.5 = Plate 2), than to any other manuscript.⁵⁴ Dochiariou 39 is ranked next at 96 percent overall agreement with Moscow, F.304/III. No. 28. Getty, Ludwig II, 5 of the Ludwig subgroup earns the same ranking. The two manuscripts next on the list of the Interregnum and Ludwig subgroups are both ranked at 95 percent agreement with Moscow, F.304/III. No. 28. These are followed by three unaffiliated manuscripts—one from Ferrara dated to 1334, another from Ochrid, and the third from Vienna. Holkham 114, a decorative style manuscript without a group assignment, comes in next at 94 percent overall agreement. It is followed by three more unaffiliated manuscripts dated by the Münster Institute to the fifteenth, fourteenth, and twelfth centuries, respectively. Number 13 on the list is Paris gr. 75 of the Kokkinobaphos Master's workshop (Figure 1.3). This is important because, as we have seen, works associated with the Kokkinobaphos Master represent the high end of Constantinopolitan manuscript production in the twelfth century. Carr, in fact, detected metropolitan influence in the ornamental interlace patterns of the London subgroup and had made direct comparisons with Melbourne 710/5—which is another manuscript associated with the Kokkinobaphos Master's workshop. Thus, for the London subgroup, the data generated by the New Testament text critics again underscores the conclusions already reached by Carr based upon artistic evidence.⁵⁵

If we continue down Table 1.2, we note that number 16 on the list is another member of the London subgroup—London, Add. 37002. It, in turn, is followed by an unaffiliated manuscript from London of the twelfth century, and then a

⁵⁴ Münster 10 (GA 2756) shares 147/152 test readings (that is, 97 percent agreement) with Moscow, F.304/III. No. 28.

⁵⁵ Carr, *Byzantine Illumination, 1150–1250*, p. 39.

manuscript of the Ludwig subgroup, and an unaffiliated manuscript now in Athens. Number 20 on the list is Cracow 1870 I, a member of the Dionysiou and Berlin subgroup.

Thus, from the New Testament text critics' perspective, Moscow, F.304/III. No. 28 is closer to two members of the London subgroup (Münster 10 and Dochiariou 39), and to four other manuscripts of the decorative style that are not members of the London subgroup, as well as to a manuscript related to the workshop of the Kokkinobaphos Master and to seven unaffiliated manuscripts, than it is to its fellow London subgroup member, London Add. 37002, which Carr described as its very near "twin." Carr writes:

Codicologically they [Moscow, F.304/III. No. 28 and London, Add. 37002] are identical; the greater irregularity of the script in the Moscow manuscript makes it difficult to assert that a single scribe produced both texts, but the treatment of the titles to each Gospel is so nearly identical that one book could well have provided the norm for the other. Their Evangelist portraits differ in one pose only. The books are distinguished from one another merely by an inflection of style, and so seem to be separated by an interval of stylistic development.⁵⁶

Carr also linked two other manuscripts of the London subgroup, Dochiariou 39 and Istanbul 4, on account of their close paleography.⁵⁷ This connection is not reflected in the data provided by the Münster Institute, however. In fact, Istanbul 4 does not demonstrate any particular kinship with the other texts of the London subgroup.⁵⁸

While there are remarkable disjunctions between the conclusions reached by Carr based on the artistic, codicological, and paleographical evidence, and the connections between manuscripts based on the Münster Institute's textual evidence, there are also significant areas where Carr's conclusions find resonance in the textual data. Thus, when Carr notes that the London subgroup moves from a "provincial singularity into a more cosmopolitan manner,"⁵⁹ this is echoed in the text evidence in the demonstrated influence of Paris gr. 75 by the Kokkinobaphos Master (Figure 1.3). Carr's comments on production methods for the Taphou and London subgroups are also of interest. She concludes that "they generated a limited number of very authoritative models."⁶⁰ Moreover:

the subgroups are unanimous in suggesting a system of production that was looser than the scriptorium-cum-atelier as usually conceived, in which books

⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 38.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ The Münster Institute includes some 155 manuscripts on John's Supplementary List for Moscow, F.304/III. No. 28 and not one of them is the fifth member of the London subgroup—Istanbul 4 (GA 1148).

⁵⁹ Carr, *Byzantine Illumination, 1150–1250*, p. 41.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

were contracted for and designed on an individual basis by craftsmen who were not bound into a fixed pattern of shared workmanship.⁶¹

The production methods of these manuscripts are also reflected in the text critical evidence. Intimate ties between ornament, figural style, or scribal hands do not guarantee close textual relationships. Indeed, it is difficult to envision just how the various textual exemplars were shared in the creation of manuscripts of the initial subgroups of the decorative style.

The evidence provided by the three initial subgroups of the decorative style suggests the following provisional conclusions. First, members of a particular subgroup generally demonstrate textual affinities with at least one other member of the same subgroup. Second, members of a particular subgroup generally demonstrate textual affinities with members of one or more other subgroups of the decorative style. Sometimes a manuscript is closer textually to a member of another subgroup than it is to its own subgroup members. Third, decorative style manuscripts maintain numerous ties with manuscripts that were never affiliated by art historians with decorative style manuscripts. These unaffiliated manuscripts date as early as the eleventh century. Fourth, decorative style manuscripts served as textual exemplars long after their thirteenth-century demise. The data amassed by the Münster Institute provide ample evidence of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century manuscripts that were apparently copied from decorative style manuscripts. Finally, several decorative style manuscripts demonstrate compelling textual affinities with deluxe mainstream metropolitan products such as E.D. Clarke 10, Melbourne 710/5, and Paris gr. 75.

The connections between Paris gr. 75 (Figure 1.3), the manuscript associated with the workshop of the Kokkinobaphos Master, and manuscripts of the decorative style manuscripts are worth pursuing. Table 1.3 shows the Supplementary List results for Paris gr. 75 for the Gospel of John.

Table 1.3 Paris gr. 75 (GA 270), Kokkinobaphos Master workshop: Supplementary List for John⁶²

1. Moscow, F.304/III. No. 28	London subgroup
2. Münster 10	London subgroup
3. Dochiariou 39	London subgroup

⁶¹ Ibid. The many shared features between the Taphou and London subgroups highlighted by Carr resonate in the New Testament textual critical data for John's Gospel. Both Moscow, F.304/III. No. 28's and Dochiariou 39's group listings include Taphou 47 (leader of Taphou group and GA 1319). For Moscow, F.304/III. No. 28, Taphou 47 ranks 15th at 92 percent and 83 percent with a 1/1 relationship. For Dochiariou 39, Taphou 47 ranks 14th at 90 percent and 88 percent with a 3/1 relationship. See *Das Johannevangelium*, 1.1, p. 77 where Moscow, F.304/III. No. 28 is GA 1375 and Taphou 47 is GA 1319; and *ibid.*, pp. 69–70 where Dochiariou 39 is GA 969 and Taphou 47 is GA 1319.

⁶² The Supplementary List documents the 155 manuscripts that are closest overall to Paris gr. 75 on the basis of all test passages, including the readings of the Majority Text. See *Das Johannevangelium*, 1.2, pp. *19–*20 where Paris gr. 75 is GA 270.

Table 1.3 Continued

4. Ochrid 2	<i>unaffiliated (XIII century)</i>
5. Dionysiou 23	Ludwig subgroup
6. Getty, Ludwig II 5	Ludwig subgroup
7. London Add. 36752	<i>unaffiliated (XII century)</i>
8. Brescia, B. Q. A.VI.26	<i>unaffiliated (X century)</i>
9. Cracow 1870 I	Dionysiou and Berlin subgroup
10. Vienna, Theol. gr. 337	<i>unaffiliated (XIII century)</i>
11. Iviron 641	<i>unaffiliated (XV century)</i>
12. Sinai 1342	<i>unaffiliated (XIV century)</i>
13. Athens 204	<i>unaffiliated (X century)*</i>
14. Harley 5540	<i>unaffiliated (XI century)</i>
15. Lincoln gr. 17	decorative style/no group assignment
16. Vat., Reg. gr. Pii II 55	<i>unaffiliated (XI century)</i>
17. Paris gr. 73	<i>unaffiliated (XII century)</i>
18. Holkham 114	decorative style/no group assignment
19. Ferrara, Cl. II, 119	<i>unaffiliated (XIV century)</i>
20. Stavronikita 56	Interregnum subgroup

Note: * Carr, *Byzantine Illumination, 1150–1250*, p. 164, n. 23 dates Athens 204 to the twelfth century.

Table 1.3 reveals that the three closest manuscripts⁶³ to Paris gr. 75's Gospel text of John are all members of the London subgroup. They are: Moscow, F.304/III. No. 28 (94 percent), Münster 10, and Dochiariou 39 (both at 93 percent).⁶⁴ Manuscripts ranked number 5, 6, and 9 are also decorative style manuscripts belonging to central and later subgroups, as are those ranked number 15, 18, and 20.⁶⁵

This evidence indicates that Paris gr. 75 (Figure 1.3), a deluxe metropolitan manuscript of the twelfth century, is textually related to nine manuscripts of the decorative style. Two of these manuscripts have no group assignment and seven come from four different subgroups. It is of interest that of the

⁶³ That is, of all Greek extant manuscripts which include the Gospel of John.

⁶⁴ All other listed manuscripts show agreement at 92 percent or 91 percent. This suggests that Constantinopolitan influence was significant and sustained — affecting not just one or two members of the decorative style manuscripts, but many members.

⁶⁵ Lincoln gr. 17 and Holkham 114 have no decorative style manuscript subgroup assignment. Carr noted that several of the manuscripts listed in Table 1.3 share quatrains at the end of each Gospel. See Carr, *Byzantine Illumination, 1150–1250*, p. 205 where she notes that Stavronikita 56, Cracow 1870 I, Getty, Ludwig, II, 5, and Lincoln College, gr. 17 share the same quatrains.

seven manuscripts assigned to subgroups of the decorative style, all are from the London and later subgroups. No members of the Chicago or Taphou subgroups—the earliest subgroups of the decorative style manuscripts—appear on this list. What is especially intriguing is that the visual impact of the Kokkinobaphos Master's interlace ornament is first seen in the London subgroup, and it is manuscripts from this subgroup that are most closely related to Paris 75—for example, Moscow, F.304/III. No. 28; Münster 10 (Figure 1.1 = Plate 1, Figure 1.2, Figure 1.5 = Plate 2); and Dochiariou 39.

The Ludwig Subgroup

Carr's discussion of the Ludwig subgroup, the first of the central subgroups of the decorative style, is interesting in connection with the textual data found in Table 1.3. The Ludwig subgroup is comprised only of three manuscripts: its stunning namesake—Getty, Ludwig II 5—and two manuscripts that contain pale reflections of its evangelist portraits, Dionysiou 23 and Sinai 163. Dionysiou 23 and Getty, Ludwig II 5 are listed as manuscripts number 5 and 6 in Table 1.3. Carr singles out Getty, Ludwig II 5 as the definitive manuscript of all of those assigned to the central subgroups and dates it to circa 1190.⁶⁶ The high quality of Getty, Ludwig II 5's illustrations encourages Carr to ask the following: "is it a Constantinopolitan manuscript; is it a close copy of a Constantinopolitan manuscript; or is it an autonomous development of the local tradition traced so far?"⁶⁷ Its intimate textual connections with Paris gr. 75 suggest that it was copied and illuminated under the influence of a deluxe Constantinopolitan product.

The Dionysiou and Berlin Subgroup

Due to space limitations, we will skip over the remaining central subgroups⁶⁸ and consider the first of the two later subgroups, the Dionysiou and Berlin subgroup, which Carr dates to the years immediately following the conquest of Constantinople in 1204.⁶⁹ The Dionysiou and Berlin subgroup consists of four Gospel books:

⁶⁶ Carr, *Byzantine Illumination, 1150–1250*, p. 45.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

⁶⁸ The Harley subgroup contains six manuscripts with Gospels; the Seraglio subgroup, the last of the central subgroups of the decorative style, contains ten manuscripts but none contains the Gospels. See *ibid.*, pp. 50–79.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 81.

Athos, Dionysiou 4
 Berlin, Staatsbibl. gr. quarto 66
 Cracow, Czartoryskich 1870 I
 Paris, BnF, Suppl. gr. 175

Dionysiou 4 and Berlin quarto 66, the manuscripts for which Carr names the group, are intimately linked in their script and iconography, and have been related in the Group List for John's text by the Münster Institute.⁷⁰ Carr describes the two manuscripts as the "most splendid Greek books of their generation. They excel in materials, in richness of conception and in execution."⁷¹ Dionysiou 4 "is ... a luxury product of the highest pretensions."⁷² She writes:

Together, Dionysiou 4 and Berlin Quarto 66 mark a dramatic oscillation in the graph of the decorative style's history. They illustrate an extraordinary influx of external and especially Constantinopolitan influences.⁷³

Like Buchthal,⁷⁴ Carr notes the exhilarating impact of the ornament of the Kokkinobaphos Master in the Dionysiou and Berlin subgroup. The Constantinopolitan effect is so strong that Carr entertains the possibility that the painter of the Berlin manuscript might have come from Constantinople.⁷⁵ Although we noted the influence of the Kokkinobaphos Master in the texts of the London subgroup above (via Paris gr. 75), it is not until the Dionysiou and Berlin subgroup that the extensive influence of the Kokkinobaphos Master's ornament can be detected. The Münster Institute data indicate that Paris gr. 75's text is directly linked with the Dionysiou and Berlin subgroup as well. Paris gr. 75 appears as number 10 on the Supplementary List of John's Gospel for Cracow 1870 I.⁷⁶

⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 90. *Das Johannevangelium*, 1.1, p. 68 where Dionysiou 4 is GA 924 and Berlin quarto 66 is GA 660. They have 93 percent and 100 percent agreements with a 2/2 ratio. No other manuscript is associated with them on the Group List. Just one member of the Dionysiou and Berlin subgroup appears on the Supplementary List for John's Gospel: Cracow 1870 I. Of the 20 manuscripts ranked closest to it, 16 appear above in Table 1.2 or 1.3, and 11 manuscripts appear in both Table 1.2 and 1.3. However, none of Cracow 1870 I's three co-members of the Dionysiou and Berlin subgroup appears on its Supplementary List. *Das Johannevangelium*, 1.2, p. *75.

⁷¹ Carr, *Byzantine Illumination*, 1150–1250, p. 81.

⁷² Ibid., p. 83.

⁷³ Ibid., p. 103.

⁷⁴ Hugo Buchthal, "Studies in Byzantine illumination of the thirteenth century," *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen* 25 (1983): 27–102.

⁷⁵ Carr, *Byzantine Illumination*, 1150–1250, pp. 93 and 103.

⁷⁶ *Das Johannevangelium*, 1.2, p. *75 where Paris gr. 75 appears as GA 270 with 92 percent overall agreement with Cracow 1870 I. See also Table 1.3 above where Cracow 1870 I appears as number 9 on Paris gr. 75's Supplementary List for John's Gospel.

The Interregnum Subgroup

The last subgroup of the decorative style manuscripts includes 15 Gospel books.⁷⁷ The data generated by the text critics indicate that seven of these manuscripts are very closely related (Table 1.4).⁷⁸

Table 1.4 Athens, National Library 77 (Interregnum subgroup): Supplementary List for Mark⁷⁹

1. London, Add. 26103	Interregnum subgroup
2. *Baltimore, Walters W. 528	Interregnum subgroup
3. *Moscow, F.181. No. 9 [formerly F.181 (Gr. 9)]	Interregnum subgroup
4. *Athos, Iviron 55	Interregnum subgroup
5. *Jerusalem, Photiou 28	Interregnum subgroup
6. *Manchester, Rylands 17	Interregnum subgroup
7. Berlin, quarto 66	Dionysiou and Berlin subgroup
8. Athos, Dionysiou 4	Dionysiou and Berlin subgroup
9. <i>Chicago, Univ. Libr. Ms. 46</i>	<i>Unaffiliated ms (XV century)</i> ♦

Note: ♦ See Robert S. Nelson, *Theodore Hagiopeitrites: A Late Byzantine Scribe and Illuminator*, Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Byzantinistik, 4 (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1991), vol. 1, p. 17, no. 19 where Nelson attributes this manuscript to the late thirteenth-/early fourteenth-century scribe Theodore Hagiopeitrites.

The asterisks in Table 1.4 refer to the manuscripts of the Interregnum subgroup that Carr singles out for their use of the decorative vocabulary of Dionysiou 4. Five of the six manuscripts whose decoration is linked to Dionysiou 4 appear in this group of intimately related texts of the Interregnum subgroup.⁸⁰ Noteworthy, too, is that numbers 7 and 8 in Table 1.4 are the ringleaders of the previous Dionysiou and Berlin subgroup whose influence on the Interregnum manuscripts is strongly emphasized by Carr.⁸¹

⁷⁷ Carr, *Byzantine Illumination, 1150–1250*, pp. 107–8.

⁷⁸ Athens 77 and London, Add. 26103 are very close at about 96 percent agreement. Walters W. 528 comes in at 94 percent; Moscow, F.181. No. 9 at 93 percent; Iviron 55, Photiou 28 and Rylands 17 are all at 92 percent for Mark.

⁷⁹ *Das Markusevangelium*, 1.2, p. *28 where Athens 77 is GA 791.

⁸⁰ The rankings of these manuscripts range from 96 percent to 89 percent.

⁸¹ Carr, *Byzantine Illumination, 1150–1250*, p. 106 where she writes: “The pervasive influence of the Dionysiou and Berlin codices is significant. Certainly from 1204, a single center shaped the course of the decorative style development.”

Thus, in the late subgroups (that is, the Dionysiou and Berlin and the Interregnum subgroups), manuscripts that are closely related in their decoration may also be closely related in their texts. Five of the six manuscripts that Carr has singled out due to their dependence on the ornament of Dionysiou 4 are also closely related to each other textually. As seen in Table 1.4, these manuscripts also have close textual relationships with both Dionysiou 4 and Berlin, quarto 66. This is in marked contrast to trends noted in the early subgroups of manuscripts of the decorative style above.

Finally, number 9 in Table 1.4 is Chicago 46 by Theodore Hagiopetrites. It is not a member of the decorative style manuscripts, but was singled out by Carr as being virtually the only other manuscript postdating the decorative style group (beyond Ste. Geneviève 3398) that revealed any connection whatsoever with the decorative motifs of the decorative style manuscripts. It features a bear and snake beta initial also seen in decorative style manuscripts.⁸²

Conclusion

What conclusions can we garner from this foray into New Testament textual criticism? First, we have seen that a manuscript of a particular subgroup generally displays close textual relationships with at least one other member of its subgroup, as well as with members of other subgroups. Second, textual relationships among members of a subgroup do not always parallel artistic, paleographic, and codicological relationships. This is especially true in the initial subgroups, but is much less likely in the evidence of the late subgroups. Third, we have noted surprising textual connections between decorative style manuscripts and deluxe late eleventh- and twelfth-century metropolitan manuscripts. Two decorative style manuscripts reveal textual affinities with E.D. Clarke 10 and nine decorative style manuscripts are textually related to Paris gr. 75, a manuscript associated with the Kokkinobaphos Master's workshop. Carr had noted an infusion of Constantinopolitan influence in the decoration of the last two subgroups of the decorative style manuscripts. The data from the Münster Institute suggest that this influence was present already in the texts of the London subgroup, the last of the initial subgroups of the decorative style manuscripts.

The data generated by the New Testament textual critics also link the texts of decorative style manuscripts to numerous other unaffiliated Greek manuscripts. Some of these unaffiliated manuscripts appear to be contemporary with the decorative style manuscripts; others are much later.⁸³

⁸² Ibid., p. 123. For Theodore Hagiopetrites, see above, n. 84.

⁸³ A few, however, are thought to date as early as the eleventh century (e.g., Harley 5540).

Further investigation of these unaffiliated manuscripts may shed light on the origins of decorative style manuscripts themselves.⁸⁴ Finally, while the illustrations and ornament of the decorative style manuscripts appear to have lost favor by the middle of the thirteenth century, their texts continued to serve as exemplars for scribes for two or more centuries after the demise of the decorative style. Overall, the preliminary textual evidence suggests that decorative style manuscripts may be more integral to mainstream Byzantine manuscript production than their script, figural miniatures, and ornament would otherwise suggest.

I hope at some point to publish a more complete examination of the decorative style manuscripts in light of the data generated by New Testament text critics.⁸⁵ In the meantime, I thank Annemarie Weyl Carr for her remarkable study of this rambunctious and often unyielding group of manuscripts. She has accomplished a truly Herculean task.

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⁸⁴ For example, Cambridge Mm. 6.9. (Fig. 1.3). It is extremely closely related textually to Vat. Barb. gr. 449, one of only two securely dated manuscripts of the decorative style group (dated 1153) and one of the earliest members of the decorative style manuscripts. It is quite tantalizing that Cambridge Mm. 6.9 can be so closely related to the decorative style in its text and its script and yet not be of the decorative style.

⁸⁵ I recently learned that a related inquiry has been undertaken by a New Testament text critic. Warren Langford has completed a PhD dissertation entitled *From Text to Art and Back Again: Verifying A. Weyl Carr's Manuscript Groupings through Textual Analysis* (New Orleans Baptist Theological Seminary, 2008). Dr. Langford examines test passages in John, chaps. 4 and 10 of the Taphou and London subgroups, and employs full collations as well as quantitative analysis of these chapters in John for the Dionysiou and Berlin, and Interregnum subgroups. I thank Dr. Ulrich Schmid of the Münster Institute for introducing Dr. Langford to me via email in January 2010, and I thank Dr. Langford for generously sharing his research with me.

Appendix 1
Guide to Abbreviated Titles, Shelf Numbers, and Gregory-Aland (GA)
Numbers of Manuscripts

Manuscript Abbreviated Title	Manuscript Shelf Number	GA Number
Athens 77	Athens, National Library, 77	791
Athens 153	Athens, National Library, 153	760
<i>Athens 204</i>	<i>Athens, National Library, 204</i>	771
Benaki 2	Athens, Benaki Museum, Ms. 2	2557
Berlin quarto 66	Berlin, Staatsbibl. zu Berlin Preussischer Kulturbesitz, graec. qu. 66	660
<i>Brescia A. VI. 26</i>	<i>Brescia, Biblioteca Queriniana, A. VI. 26</i>	1816
<i>Cambridge Mm. 6.9</i>	<i>Cambridge, University Library, Mm. 6.9</i>	440
<i>Chicago 46</i>	<i>Chicago, University Library, Ms. 46</i>	1290
Chicago 965	Chicago, University Library, Ms. 965	2400
Coislin 200	Paris, BnF, Ms. Coislin Gr. 200	38
Cracow 1870 I	Cracow, Bibl. Czartoryskich 1870 I	2478
Dionysiou 4	Mt. Athos, Dionysiou 4	924
Dionysiou 23	Mt. Athos, Dionysiou 23 (303)	1 644
<i>Dochiarion 21</i>	<i>Mt. Athos, Dochiariou 21</i>	965
Dochiarion 39	Mt. Athos, Dochiariou 39	969
<i>E. D. Clarke 10</i>	<i>Oxford, Bodleian Library, E.D. Clarke 10</i>	112
<i>Ferrara, Cl. II, 119</i>	<i>Ferrara, Bibl. Comunale, Cl. II, 119</i>	581
<i>Ferrara Cl. II, 187, III</i>	<i>Ferrara, Bibl. Comunale, Cl. II, 187, III</i>	582
Getty, Ludwig II 5	Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ludwig II 5	679
Hagia Sophia 11664	Istanbul, Museum Hagia Sophia, 11664	1808
Harley 1810	London, British Library, Harley 1810	113
<i>Harley 5540</i>	<i>London, British Library, Harley 5540</i>	114
Holkham 114	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Holkham Gr. 114	557
Istanbul 4	Istanbul, Ecumenical Patriarchate, cod. 4	1148
Ivion 55	Mt. Athos, Ivion 55	1005
<i>Ivion 641</i>	<i>Mt. Athos, Ivion 641</i>	1026
Lavra A' 66	Mt. Athos, Lavra A' 66	1491
Lavra B' 26	Mt. Athos, Lavra B' 26	1505
Leyden, Gron. 137	Leyden, University Library, Gron. 137	435
Lincoln gr. 17	Oxford, Lincoln College, Gr. 17	68
London, Add 26103	London, British Library, Add. 26103	697
<i>London Add. 36752</i>	<i>London, British Library, Add. 36752</i>	2280
London Add. 37002	London, British Library, Add. 37002	2278

Manuscript Abbreviated Title	Manuscript Shelf Number	GA Number
London Add. 39595	London, British Library, Add. 39595	552
<i>Melbourne 710/5</i>	<i>Melbourne, National Gallery of Victoria MS 710/5</i>	662
Moscow, F.181. No. 9	Moscow, Russian State Library, F.181. No. 9 [formerly F.181 (Gr. 9)]	251
Moscow, F.304/III. No. 28	Moscow, Russian State Library, F.304/III. No. 28 [formerly F.181 (Gr. 11)]	1375
Moscow 3646	Moscow, State Historical Museum, 3646	2546
Münster 10	Münster, Bibelmuseum der Universität Münster, cod. gr. 10	2756
<i>Ochrid 2</i>	<i>Ochrid, National Museum, 2</i>	2624
Palermo 4	Palermo, Biblioteca Nazionale, Deposito Museo 4	2127
<i>Panteleimon 29</i>	<i>Mt. Athos, Panteleimon 29</i>	1094
<i>Pantokrator 56</i>	<i>Mt. Athos, Pantokrator 56</i>	1398
<i>Paris gr. 73</i>	<i>Paris, BnF, gr. 73</i>	268
<i>Paris gr. 75</i>	<i>Paris, BnF, gr. 75</i>	270
Paris gr. 88	Paris, BnF, gr. 88	281
Paris gr. 94	Paris, BnF, gr. 94	31
Paris gr. 97	Paris, BnF, gr. 97	579
Paris, Suppl. gr. 175	Paris, BnF, Suppl. gr. 175	298
Photiou 28	Jerusalem, Orthodox Patriarchate, Photiou 28	1365
Rylands 17	Manchester, John Rylands University Library, Gr. Ms. 17	1278
<i>Ste. Geneviève 3398</i>	<i>Paris, Bibliothèque Ste. Geneviève, 3398</i>	121
Sinai 149	Sinai, St. Catherine's Monastery, Gr. 149	1186
Sinai 163	Sinai, St. Catherine's Monastery, Gr. 163	1200
<i>Sinai 1342</i>	<i>Sinai, St. Catherine's Monastery, Gr. 1342</i>	2492
Stavronikita 56	Mt. Athos, Stavronikita 56	1113
Taphou 47	Jerusalem, Orthodox Patriarchate, Taphou 47	1319
Vat., Barb. gr. 449	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. gr. 449	162
<i>Vat., Reg. gr. Pii II 55</i>	<i>Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. gr. Pii II 55</i>	158
Vatopedi 882	Mt. Athos, Vatopedi 882	1538
<i>Vienna, Theol. gr. 337</i>	<i>Vienna, Theol. gr. 337</i>	220
Walters W. 528	Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, Ms. W. 528	2372

Note: Italics indicate unaffiliated manuscripts, that is, manuscripts not previously associated with decorative style manuscripts.

Flexibility and Fusion in Eastern Mediterranean Manuscript Production: Oxford, Bodleian, Laud. Gr. 86

Justine M. Andrews

Introduction

An illustrated manuscript, now in Oxford, offers a surprising point of intersection in the relationships between three cities: Mistra (in the Peloponnese of Greece), Venice, and Famagusta (the major port city of Cyprus during the later Middle Ages). The Commentary on Job (Oxford, Bodleian, Laud. gr. 86), written in Greek in the sixteenth century, shows the continued artistic flexibility and fusion in the Eastern Mediterranean, particularly from the fourteenth through the sixteenth centuries. The Oxford Job manuscript has been attributed to production in Venice.¹ Stylistic details of the figures, however, as well as paleographic evidence, suggest a relationship with imagery and texts being produced outside of Venice² (Figure 2.1 = Plate 3, Figure 2.2, Figure 2.3 = Plate 4). The historical context, including the Oxford Job manuscript's relationship with its fourteenth-century model from the Peloponnese (Paris, BNF, gr. 135), as well as the manuscript's relationship with fresco painting and manuscripts produced in late fifteenth-century Cyprus, suggests the possibility of an Eastern Mediterranean production particularly on the island of Cyprus.³

¹ Irmgard Hutter has written the most comprehensive study on this manuscript in her catalog entry for the *Corpus der Byzantinischen Miniaturenhandschriften: Oxford Bodleian Library III* (Stuttgart, 1982) (cat. 4). Although her criteria for attributing the manuscript to Venice is not explicit, one assumes that she has made the assessment based primarily on the paleographic evidence, and possibly the style of the wash-drawings.

² See pp. 7, 26 and 411 for examples. Oxford Bodleian Laud. gr. 86 is paginated rather unusually and is sequentially numbered and cited in Hutter's comprehensive catalog by pages rather than the more typical folio numbers with recto and verso. I have followed the convention here for the Oxford Job manuscript.

³ The most significant studies on Paris, BNF, gr. 135 include: Helen Evans (ed.) *Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261–1557)* (New York, 2004), p. 63, cat. 33; Justine Andrews,



Fig. 2.1 [Plate 3] Oxford, Bodleian, Laud. gr. 86, fol. 7. Job enthroned with his wife and family.

0.241

[illegible]

Ο πανηγυρὶς πόρος· τῆς ἀρχῆς κατὰ τὴν αὐτοχόρας ἐοικασμένης ἀπὸ τοῦ ὅλου.

Καὶ οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ νοταρίου τὰ ἑξῆς ἀνέγνωσαν καὶ ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν
ἐχαρακτήρισαν τὴν ἀποστολὴν ταύτην·

[illegible]

2017 pages⁶

Fig. 2.2 Oxford, Bodleian, Laud. gr. 86, fol. 26. Job's sons and daughters feasting.

[illegible][illegible]

The large Oxford Job manuscript is a fascinating example of illustrated paper manuscripts, and intrigues the reader with numerous lively drawings. There are 204 illustrations composed of pen and ink and watercolor on 222 pages. The manuscript was left unfinished. Some pages are missing illustrations; others have only a prefatory drawing without the washes of color. The manuscript is written in one column of 13 lines on thick paper that bears a watermark of a circle with six radiating spokes; later pages show a watermark shield with a band and two stars.⁴

Irmgard Hutter carefully cataloged the manuscript in 1982, and many of the details that she noted are central to understanding the manuscript's broader context.⁵ She describes the text as written in brown ink with red initials, and suggests that there are one or two miniatures missing along with the pages 223/224. Hutter notes that there are additions at the beginning of the manuscript in Italian and, in a later hand, in Latin, of lists of the authors of the *catenae* (commentaries). She proposed that the manuscript was produced in Venice sometime in the middle of the sixteenth century. This attribution appears to be based on the paleography and the style of the miniatures. She also identifies the binding of the manuscript as German from the late sixteenth century, concluding that the manuscript was in a southern German collection by the end of the sixteenth century.⁶ I suggest this final detail, the manuscript's German context, is another important factor in determining the manuscript's origin of production.

Historical Context

The Oxford Job manuscript was certainly created in the broad Mediterranean environment during the fifteenth through sixteenth centuries. The territories

Imagery in the Aftermath of the Crusades: A Fourteenth-Century Illustrated Commentary on Job (Paris, BN graecus 135). PhD Diss. (University of California, Los Angeles), 2002; Paul Huber, *Hiob, Dulder oder Rebell?* (Düsseldorf, 1986), p. 251; Styliani Papadaki-Okland, *The Illustration of Byzantine Job Manuscripts: A Preliminary Study on its Origins and Development*. PhD Diss. (Universität Heidelberg, 1979), p. 218. An unabridged version of this dissertation has recently been published posthumously as S. Papadaki-Oekland, *Byzantine Illuminated Manuscripts of the Book of Job: A Preliminary Study of the Miniature Illustrations. Its Origin and Development* (Turnhout, 2009). References in this text are to the originally printed dissertation. Tania Velmans, "Le Parisinus Grecus 135 et quelques autres peintures de style gothique dans les manuscrits grecs à l'époque des paléologues," *Cahiers Archéologiques*, 17 (1967): 209–35.

⁴ Hutter, *Corpus*, p. 54 (cat. 4). She notes the watermark of the original paper is unidentified, but the later watermark corresponds to C.-M. Briquet, *Les filigranes: Dictionnaire historique de marques du papier des leur apparition ver 1282 jusqu'en 1600* (Leipzig, 1923), catalog no. 1012, and attributed to Augsburg 1544.

⁵ Hutter, *Corpus*, p. 54 (cat. 4) gives a detailed summary of the codicology as well as short descriptions of each illustration. Papadaki-Okland, *Byzantine Job Manuscripts*, p. 219 (cat. 15) gives a one-page discussion of the manuscript in relation to the other examples presented in the book.

⁶ This codicological information is included in the one-page catalogue entry no. 4 in Hutter, *Corpus*, p. 54 (cat. 4).

held (and formerly held) by the Byzantine Empire during this period—including Italy, Greece, Cyprus, and Palestine/Syria—were in continual correspondence through mercantile and political exchange.⁷ Central areas for artistic production, including manuscripts, were the city of Mistra and the island Kingdom of Cyprus, ruled from the late twelfth into the fifteenth century by the Frankish Lusignan family, and later by the Venetians, before the Ottoman takeover in 1570.⁸ During the century prior to the production of the Oxford Job manuscript, there is evidence of an increased interaction between the Peloponnese and Cyprus.⁹ It is in the intersection of these two regions that the transmission of possible models for the Oxford Job manuscript occurred. The fifteenth century brought an increasing Ottoman threat to the Byzantine Empire, as well as to the Despotate on the Peloponnese.¹⁰ This threat culminated in the loss of Constantinople in 1453 and the surrender of the Peloponnese in 1460. At that time the island of Cyprus was experiencing a revival in Byzantine art and scholarship, under the auspices of Queen Helena Palaiologina (1428–58), who was married to the Lusignan king, John II (r. 1432–58). Helena was the niece of the emperor in Constantinople, as well as the daughter of Theodore Palaiologos (1396–1448), the Despot of the Morea (another name for the territories of the Peloponnese). She was brought up in Mistra, but in her life on Cyprus from 1442 she supported the Orthodox community and encouraged Byzantine monks and scholars who had fled from mainland territories during the mid-fifteenth century to resettle in Cyprus.¹¹ Some of these immigrants to Cyprus were likely artists, given the stylistic links between painted churches in Cyprus and fresco painting from the same period in Mistra.¹²

⁷ For general references to the Cypriot participation see Benjamin Arbel, "Venetian Cyprus and the Muslim Levant, 1473–1570," in N. Coureas and J. Riley Smith (eds), *Cyprus and the Crusades* (Nicosia, 1995), pp. 159–85; and Anthony Luttrell, "The Hospitallers in Cyprus after 1386," in Coureas and Riley Smith, *Cyprus and the Crusades*, pp. 124–42.

⁸ For general reference to artistic production in Cyprus see: Annemarie Weyl Carr, "Art," in Angel Nicolaou-Konnari and Chris Schabel (eds), *Cyprus Society and Culture 1191–1374* (Leiden and Boston, 2005), pp. 285–328; and the compiled articles of Doula Mouriki, *Studies in Late Byzantine Painting* (London, 1995).

⁹ Marie-Louise von Warburg, "Vestigia Leonis: Art and architecture in Cyprus under Venetian rule," in Ian A. Todd (ed), *Cyprus Jewel in the Crown of Venice* (Nicosia, 2003), p. 58.

¹⁰ For a history of the Morea and its position between Latin and Ottoman powers see: Nevra Necipoğlu, *Byzantium between the Ottomans and the Latins: Politics and Society in the Late Empire* (Cambridge, 2009), pp. 233–84.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 58; Efthalia Constantinides, "Monumental painting in Cyprus during the Venetian period, 1489–1570," in Nancy Patterson Ševčenko and Christopher Moss (eds), *Medieval Cyprus: Studies in Art, Architecture, and History in Memory of Doula Mouriki* (Princeton, 1999), pp. 263–300, p. 265; Melita Emmanuel, "Monumental painting in Cyprus during the last phase of the Lusignan dynasty, 1374–1489," in Ševčenko and Moss, *Medieval Cyprus*, p. 244.

¹² Annemarie Weyl Carr, *Byzantine Illumination, 1150–1250: The Study of a Provincial Tradition* (Chicago, 1987), p. 25 n. 9 and n. 30; Melita Emmanuel notes similarities in the figures painted in the Latin chapel at Pyrga in Cyprus with figural images in the Pantanassa

By the late fifteenth century, in the wake of a plague, Cyprus suffered from a dramatic drop in population. The Lusignan King James II (1460–73) appealed to Venice to send settlers to repopulate Cyprus.¹³ Only after Cyprus was formally under Venetian colonial rule (in 1479) did the new colonial administration develop incentives for Venetians and subjects from Venetian colonies in the Peloponnese and Corfu to resettle in Cyprus. There was a particular interest in repopulating the Cypriot city of Famagusta, with special incentives of land and tax relief for those who moved to the city. This continued into the sixteenth century as Venetian power increased up until the final moments of Latin rule over Cyprus in 1571.¹⁴ There is also evidence of the continued production of Greek manuscripts in Cyprus during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.¹⁵ There were several manuscripts copied at monasteries near Nicosia, the capital city in the center of the island, and Kyrenia, a port town on the northern coast. There were at least two confirmed scriptoria in Famagusta, the preeminent commercial city of the island on the eastern coast. One scriptorium was located in the Latin castle under the aegis of King Janus (1398–1432); another at a (now lost) monastery of Agia Paraskevi.¹⁶

In addition, there is clear evidence for artistic production, in the form of monumental painting on Cyprus that increasingly incorporated Italianate iconography and style similar to that found in the Oxford Job manuscript. Two examples are found in the Church of the Panagia Podithou in the mountain village of Galata, and in the so-called Latin Chapel of the monastery of St. John Lampadistes in the village of Kalopanagiotis.¹⁷ The paintings show a balance of late Constantinopolitan fresco painting tradition that was flourishing in Mistra until 1460, including traditional gold striations in the Virgin's dress and the articulated poses of the figures. The murals also display Renaissance formulas, including more personalized expressions and realistic backgrounds, which were used in Italy in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.¹⁸ The

church in Mistra, c. 1430 in "Monumental painting in Cyprus during the last phase of the Lusignan dynasty," p. 243.

¹³ Benjamin Arbel, "Cypriot population under Venetian rule (1473–1571): A demographic study," *Μελέται καὶ Υπομνήματα* 1 (1984): 183–215; as reprinted in Benjamin Arbel, *Cyprus, Franks and Venice, 13th–16th Centuries* (Aldershot, 2000), p. 184.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 185–6.

¹⁵ Costas N. Constantinides and Robert Browning (eds), *Dated Greek Manuscripts from Cyprus to the Year 1570* (Washington, DC and Nicosia, 1993), p. 12. Few manuscripts are on parchment and at least 50 of the dated manuscripts from Cyprus from the sixteenth century are on Western paper.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 13 and 228, 193 and 283.

¹⁷ The most important and exhaustive text on the painted churches in Cyprus is Andreas Stylianou and Judith A. Stylianou, *The Painted Churches of Cyprus: Treasures of Byzantine Art* (Nicosia, 1997). References to these examples are found on pp. 98–105 and 312–20.

¹⁸ Constantinides, "Monumental painting in Cyprus during the Venetian period," pp. 275–9.

patrons of these churches were often Latin aristocrats of Venetian heritage, some of whom converted to the Orthodox rite.¹⁹ The Panagia Podithou church is dated to 1502 and had Venetian patrons, Demetre de Coron and his wife. These patrons, and the unknown patrons of the Latin Chapel, have been assumed to be Latin Cypriot aristocrats who converted to Orthodoxy.²⁰

This historical context suggests that while the environment on the Peloponnese became increasingly volatile, the population and the artistic production on Cyprus stabilized and even expanded, particularly as the Venetians increased their power and presence in the Mediterranean by finally securing the rule of Cyprus. With the powerful political and cultural presence of Venice in the Mediterranean, a manuscript such as the Oxford Job could have been produced not simply in the city of Venice, but within one of its Mediterranean colonies. Venice was a prominent power in at least two centers of artistic production in the Eastern Mediterranean, Cyprus and the Peloponnese. I suggest that we look beyond the traditional connection to Venice itself and consider these areas as sites of origin for the Oxford Job manuscript.

Paleographic and Stylistic Connections to Cyprus

One way to locate a manuscript's origin of production is to examine the forms and style of the written word. My study of the script of the Oxford Job manuscript finds that the text is written in light brown ink and appears to be the work of one scribe. It is written in a free cursive script and angles slightly to the right. Initials are larger but unadorned and written in red. There is a general verticality to the script with high ascenders, particularly in the gamma (*Γ*) and tau (*Τ*) letters. My own comparison to published manuscripts from Cyprus concludes that these letter forms recall those of Scribe B from the manuscript Vienna, Vindobonensis Phil. Graecus 218, c. 1500–25. This scribe may be John of Korone, a scribe active in the last quarter of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. While the scribe's name suggests a connection to the Venetian town of Koroni in Greece, this manuscript copy of the *Fiori di Virtu* was written in Cyprus.²¹ I have found other similarities in paleography, which connect the Oxford Job manuscript to the sixteenth-century scribe Ambrosios from the Andreion monastery in Cyprus.²² Through the association with

¹⁹ Emmanuel, "Monumental painting in Cyprus during the last phase of the Lusignan dynasty," pp. 250–51. She lists several reasons for the conversion to Orthodoxy including: Latin priests converting in order to marry; Latin laymen converting in order to divorce; and Latins converting to gain favor of the Byzantine queen, Helen.

²⁰ Constantinides, "Monumental painting in Cyprus during the Venetian period," pp. 282–4.

²¹ Constantinides and Browning, *Dated Greek Manuscripts*, pp. 266–7, cat. 71.

²² *Ibid.* pp. 324–5, cat. 95 (Paris, BNF, gr. 872, dated 1552).

Ambrosios, one may also point to a general similarity with the work of a late sixteenth-century scribe, Luc, who was originally from Cyprus but became bishop of Buzau in Moldovalachia after 1571.²³

Some of the most intriguing paleographic similarities are found in the Oxford, Barocci 116 manuscript, dated c. 1570. The paper manuscript bears a watermark of the lion of St. Mark and includes astronomical and astrological texts.²⁴ There is no colophon, or comment remarking on the details of the manuscript's production. Costas Constantinides and Robert Browning in their catalog of dated manuscripts from Cyprus include the Oxford, Barocci 116 manuscript in their appendix, which they titled *Dubia*, for it is a collection of manuscripts without a secure origin on Cyprus. They conclude that it is impossible to determine "whether this Barocci MS was copied in Cyprus or in the West, even in Venice itself."²⁵ This shows the difficulty of using stylistic or paleographic analysis to determine provenance. While I am not offering a comprehensive paleographic study, my brief comparison with manuscripts written on Cyprus, or associated with Cypriot scribes, suggests that the Oxford Job manuscript cannot be considered exclusively a product of Venice. The Oxford Job manuscript could equally have been produced within the Eastern Mediterranean, and possibly at a center of manuscript production on Cyprus.

In addition to the paleographic evidence, visual evidence also points to Cyprus. A fragment of a *sinopia* is all that is left of frescoes painted in the church of Saints Peter and Paul in Famagusta, Cyprus (Figure 2.4). The image is much damaged and appears to show a fragment of the iconography of the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste.²⁶ The iconography features several men, who are shown wearing only loincloths. Some have their arms crossed over their upper bodies. One falls forward, while another supports him. The stylistic attention to the details of musculature and facial types has been associated with the period of Genoese rule on Cyprus (late fourteenth to early fifteenth centuries) and with the Venetian colonization of the island in the early sixteenth century.²⁷ I suggest that the most likely date for this fresco fragment is sometime between

²³ Thanks to Marina Toumbouri for this reference. Maria-Despina Zoumbouli, *Luc de Buzau et les centres de copie de manuscrits grecs en moldovalachie (XVIe–XVIIe siècles)* (Athens, 1995).

²⁴ Constantinides and Browning, *Dated Greek Manuscripts*, pp. 379–82, cat. 114.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 379.

²⁶ Michael Walsh, "The re-emergence of the forty martyrs of Sebaste in the church of Saint Peter and Paul, Famagusta, Northern Cyprus," *Journal of Cultural Heritage* 8 (2001): 81–6.

²⁷ *Ibid.* Michael Walsh attributes the fresco to the Genoese period (late fourteenth or early fifteenth century); Philippe Plagnieux and Thierry Soulard attribute the painting to the early sixteenth century in "L'art gothique en Chypre," in Jean-Bernard de Vaivre and Philippe Plagnieux (eds), *Mémoires de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres*, 34 (Paris, 2006), p. 275.



Fig. 2.4 Forty martyrs of Sebaste. Fragment of fresco from the church of Saints Peter and Paul, Famagusta, Cyprus.

1464 and 1476, when there was a renewed interest by the Lusignan and their inheritors in Famagusta and the palace and its surrounding monuments.

The chronology of the church makes it difficult to know when this fresco fragment was painted. There is considerable scholarly controversy over the date and patronage of the church.²⁸ The structure likely dates to the mid-fourteenth century. Several chroniclers repeat the story that the church was paid for by a merchant, from just a fraction of his profits from one transaction in Syria.²⁹ Plagnieux and Soulard have suggested that the church was for the Latin rite, and was under the control of the royal family.³⁰ They argue that a connection to the royal Lusignan family explains the neglect of the church during the period of the Genoese (who seized Famagusta in 1373) and under

²⁸ Plagnieux and Soulard, "L'art gothique en Chypre," pp. 272–4.

²⁹ The information has been passed from Francois Attar (1520) and was repeated by Etienne Lusignan (1580) as well as Camille Enlart (1899) and Theophilus Mogabgab (1939). It was also speculated that this patron was Syrian Christian, perhaps a Nestorian. Mogabgab considered the name Simone Nostrano to be a mistaken transliteration of Nestorian. *Ibid.*, p. 272; Walsh, "Forty martyrs of Sebaste," pp. 82–3.

³⁰ Plagnieux and Soulard, "L'art gothique en Chypre," p. 284.

the Venetians (who held Cyprus under their protectorate from 1473 and finally under colonial rule from 1489). In his 1520 chronicle, François Attar reports that the church was used for grain storage, thus giving us a *terminus ante quem* for the fresco.³¹

Jean-Bernard de Vaivre and Catherine Otten-Froux have demonstrated Genoese contributions to the visual culture of Famagusta (namely in the southern church of what are known as the Twin Churches); unfortunately nothing in the documentary evidence refers to painting in this particular church that we know as Saints Peter and Paul.³² If we agree with the attribution noted above by Plagnieux and Soulard, of the church's patronage by the Latin Lusignan royal family and its association with the palace of the king (just next to the church, across a narrow street), then we can associate the fresco with a renewed interest in the church from 1464 to 1473. At this time a Lusignan king, James II (1460–73), regained the throne and once again took up residence in the palace in Famagusta. We could also extend the date into what is called the Venetian protectorate, but what was simultaneously the reign of the last queen of Cyprus, Catherine Coronaro (1473–89). This Venetian queen, married to her Lusignan king for just a year before his death, also lived in the palace at Famagusta from 1473 to 1476. In letters to Venice, she complains of poor treatment by her Venetian counselors, specifically noting her isolation in the palace and her powerlessness to pray at her own chapel.³³

Although there is no conclusive evidence to link this fresco fragment to the Oxford Job manuscript, images from the manuscript display the same figural forms that are found in the Famagusta fresco. In the Oxford Job manuscript we see an attention to musculature and gesture; faces with curling beards, prominent foreheads, and receding hairlines (Figure 2.5).³⁴ I am not suggesting that the Oxford Job manuscript dates to the same period as the fresco fragment, since paleographic analysis establishes a sixteenth-century date for the Oxford Job manuscript. The similarity between paintings found in Cyprus and the Oxford Job manuscript's miniatures allows for a possible production of the manuscript outside of Venice. In fact, the Oxford Job manuscript can be set within a long tradition of Byzantine illuminated manuscripts, all produced in Byzantine (or former Byzantine) territories of the Eastern Mediterranean.

³¹ Ibid., p. 274; L. de Mas Latrie, *Histoire de l'île de Chypre*, vol. 3 (Paris, 1855), p. 524.

³² Jean-Bernard de Vaivre, "Les églises jumelles de Famagouste," *Monuments et mémoires publiés par l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres* 82 (2003): 139–71; Catherine Otten-Froux, "Notes sur quelques monuments de Famagouste à la fin du Moyen Âge," in Judith Herrin, Margaret Mullet and Catherine Otten-Froux (eds), *Mosaic: Festschrift for A.H.S. Megaw* (London, 2001), p. 152.

³³ Camille Enlart, *Gothic Art and the Renaissance in Cyprus*, trans. David Hunt (London, 1987), p. 466 and n. 88; L. de Mas Latrie, *Documents nouveaux servant de preuves à l'histoire de l'île de Chypre* (Paris, 1882), p. 458.

³⁴ Oxford, Bodleian, Laud. gr. 86, p. 323.

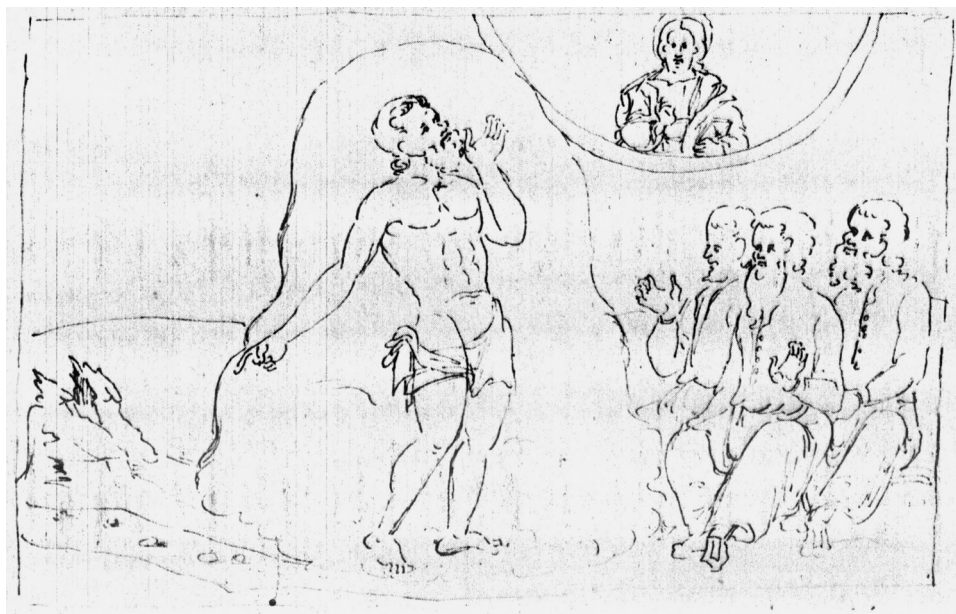


Fig. 2.5 Oxford, Bodleian, Laud. gr. 86, p. 323.

TRADITION OF *JOB* MANUSCRIPTS

Job imagery in Byzantium primarily exists in the surviving illustrated Commentaries (or *Catena*e) on Job. There are at least 15 extant Commentaries on Job with illustration.³⁵ The earliest group of Job manuscripts date from the ninth to the eleventh centuries. These earlier examples have all of the following characteristics: between 25 and 60 illuminations; illustrations of only the Prologue and the Epilogue of the Book of Job; and text written in prose. The group of early Job manuscripts does not illustrate the central episodes of the text, the dialogues between Job and his friends, which are usually written in verse and are more allegorical.³⁶

The Oxford Job manuscript is one of the 11 examples of illustrated Commentaries on Job constituting a group beginning in the twelfth

³⁵ Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Vat. gr. 749 (second half of the 9th century); Patmos, Monastery of St. John the Theologian, Cod. Patmos 171 (late 9th c.); Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale, Marciana, cod. Marc. Gr. 538 (10th c.); Sinai, St. Catherine's Monastery, cod. Gr. 3 (11th c.); Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Vat. Pal. gr. 230 (12th c.); Athens, Byzantine and Christian Museum, Ms. 62 (12th c.); Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Vat. gr. 1231 (early 12th c.); Athos, Lavra, B100 (12th c.); Athos, Vatopedi 590 (13th c.); Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Vat. Gr. 751 (12th c.); Oxford, Bodleian, Barocci 201 (13th c.); Paris, BNF, gr. 134 (13th c.); Jerusalem, Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem and All Palestine, ms. Taphou 5 (13th c.); Paris, BNF, gr. 135 (14th c.); Oxford, Bodleian, Laud., 86.

³⁶ Papadaki-Okland, *Byzantine Job Manuscripts*, p. 98.

century.³⁷ These later illustrated Job manuscripts, dating from the twelfth through the sixteenth centuries, each contain over 150 miniatures, including illustrations of the speeches of Job and his friends. Annemarie Weyl Carr attributed three manuscripts from this subgroup to production in the Eastern Mediterranean.³⁸ Notable among these is the Vatican manuscript (Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Vat. gr. 1231) from the early twelfth century, which has an inscription that tells us the manuscript was made for Leo Nikerites, the Duke of Cyprus. It also records the scribe's name, John Tarsites, which suggests he may have been from Tarsos in the Peloponnese.³⁹ These manuscripts provide the closest precedents for the Oxford Job manuscript, which is the last of the illustrated medieval examples of the Greek text and is the only example from its respective century.

I suggest that the Oxford Job manuscript continues the series and iconography of images from the earlier manuscript tradition of Job. Job appears as king in the eleventh-century manuscript now in the collection of St. Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, cod. gr. 3, fol. 7r and 7v, and in the twelfth-century manuscript now in the collection of Jerusalem, Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem and All Palestine, ms. Taphou 5, fols 7v and 9v.⁴⁰ In the sixteenth-century Oxford manuscript, Job appears crowned with a tripartite crown in a Western fashion on page 7 (Figure 2.1 = Plate 3). Job's sons and daughters are pictured seated together at a meal, as they are also shown in a ninth-century manuscript now in Rome (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Vat. gr. 749, fol. 16v) and a tenth-century manuscript now in Venice (Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, cod. Marc. gr. 538, fol. 7r).⁴¹ The Oxford Job manuscript, however, also shows the figures dining within an architectural setting, and includes details of a variety of tableware and a small dog begging at the side of the table (Figure 2.2).⁴² The many miniatures of the Oxford Job manuscript also

³⁷ Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Vat. Pal. gr. 230 (12th c.); Athens, Byzantine and Christian Museum, Ms. 62 (12th c.); Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Vat. gr. 1231 (early 12th c.); Athos, Lavra, B100 (12th c.); Athos, Vatopedi 590 (13th c.); Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Vat. Gr. 751 (12th c.); Oxford, Bodleian, Barocci 201 (13th c.); Paris, BNF, gr. 134 (13th c.); Jerusalem, Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem and All Palestine, ms. Taphou 5 (13th c.); Paris, BNF, gr. 135 (14th c.); Oxford, Bodleian, Laud., 86 (16th c.).

³⁸ Carr, *Byzantine Illumination*, pp. 2–10. She notes there are four Olympiodoran Job manuscripts that create a second notable category within her study. The three that correspond to our group of illuminated manuscripts of Job are: Athos, Lavra, B100 (12th c.); Oxford, Bodleian, Barocci 201 (13th c.); and Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Vat. gr. 1231 (early 12th c.).

³⁹ Tarsos is a small town near Corinth. Carr, *Byzantine Illumination*, p. 23; Constantinides and Browning suggest that John Tarsites may have been from Athens, in *Dated Greek Manuscripts*, pp. 68–70, cat. 5.

⁴⁰ Papadaki-Okland, *Byzantine Job Manuscripts*, pp. 201–3 (cat. 4) and pp. 208–11 (cat. 5).

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 192–3 (cat. 1) and pp. 198–9 (cat. 3).

⁴² Oxford Bodleian, Laud. gr. 86, p. 26.

Αὐτοὶ δὲ τῶν ἀνθρώπων οὐκ ἔχουσιν αὐτοὺς ἐν καρδίᾳ· καὶ οὐκ ἐκρίθησαν οὐδὲν·



Τὸν δὲ τὸν ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἔχουσιν αὐτοὺς ἐν καρδίᾳ· καὶ οὐκ ἐκρίθησαν οὐδὲν·
ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου· ἵνα ὁ θεὸς ἐκείνην πλῆξῃ· καὶ οὐκ ἔσται
οὐδὲν ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου·

Οὐδὲν δὲ τὸν ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἔχουσιν αὐτοὺς ἐν καρδίᾳ· καὶ οὐκ ἐκρίθησαν οὐδὲν·
ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου· ἵνα ὁ θεὸς ἐκείνην πλῆξῃ· καὶ οὐκ ἔσται
οὐδὲν ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου·

Καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου· ἵνα ὁ θεὸς ἐκείνην πλῆξῃ· καὶ οὐκ ἔσται
οὐδὲν ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου· ἵνα ὁ θεὸς ἐκείνην πλῆξῃ· καὶ οὐκ ἔσται
οὐδὲν ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου·

Τὸν δὲ τὸν ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἔχουσιν αὐτοὺς ἐν καρδίᾳ· καὶ οὐκ ἐκρίθησαν οὐδὲν·
ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου· ἵνα ὁ θεὸς ἐκείνην πλῆξῃ· καὶ οὐκ ἔσται
οὐδὲν ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου·

Ἡ δὲ τὸν ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἔχουσιν αὐτοὺς ἐν καρδίᾳ· καὶ οὐκ ἐκρίθησαν οὐδὲν·
ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου· ἵνα ὁ θεὸς ἐκείνην πλῆξῃ· καὶ οὐκ ἔσται
οὐδὲν ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου·

Ἡ δὲ τὸν ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἔχουσιν αὐτοὺς ἐν καρδίᾳ· καὶ οὐκ ἐκρίθησαν οὐδὲν·
ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου· ἵνα ὁ θεὸς ἐκείνην πλῆξῃ· καὶ οὐκ ἔσται
οὐδὲν ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου·

Fig. 2.6 Oxford, Bodleian, Laud. gr. 86, fol. 95. Harvesters.

include scenes of daily life, including musicians playing instruments, a cow suckling her calf, and hunting and harvesting scenes, as well as Anastasis imagery (Figure 2.3 = Plate 4, Figure 2.6).⁴³

The Oxford Job manuscript is distinct from many of the Greek manuscripts of Job produced through the thirteenth century in its light wash-drawing technique on paper. There is also more attention given to landscape, and details in musculature and costume⁴⁴ (Figure 2.5). Many of these stylistic elements seem to mirror the interests and expressions of Italian Renaissance artists.

One illustrated manuscript of the Book of Job with Commentaries in Greek is particularly striking for its similarity to the Oxford Job manuscript. I suggest that the Oxford Job manuscript was modeled on this fourteenth-century example, now in Paris, and written and illustrated in Mistra, Greece (Paris, BNF, gr. 135). The Paris Job manuscript is the most unusual of the long tradition of illustrated Job manuscripts, in its style and iconography, and offers us information so that we can securely associate it within its Byzantine tradition as well as examine its variant influences and their transmission.⁴⁵

Each miniature in the Oxford manuscript of Job parallels its model in the Paris manuscript. Some aspects of the Oxford Job manuscript illustrations have been changed from what appear in the Paris Job manuscript. For



Fig. 2.7 Paris, BNF, gr. 135, fol. 7v.

⁴³ Ibid., pp. 95 and 411.

⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 323.

⁴⁵ The most significant studies on Paris, BNF, gr. 135 include: Evans (ed), *Byzantium: Faith and Power*, p. 63 (cat. 33); Andrews, *Imagery in the Aftermath of the Crusades*; Huber, *Hiob, Dulder oder Rebell?*, p. 251; Papadaki-Okland, *Byzantine Job Manuscripts*, p. 218; Velmans, "Le Parisinus Grecus 135."

αἱ οἱ υἱοὶ ἰσὼς καὶ αἱ θυγατέρες
 τῆς αὐτοῦ. Ἐπὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν
 ἐν τῇ οὐκίᾳ τοῦ χαλκινοῦ
 αὐτῶν τοῦ πρὸς θεοῦ τῆς αὐτοῦ.

[illegible]

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example, in the Oxford Job manuscript Job is seated on a curved throne, separately from his wife (Figure 2.1 = Plate 3).⁴⁶ The majority of the miniatures in the Paris Job manuscript are all closely copied in the Oxford Job manuscript, including: Job as a Western king (Figure 2.7); Job's sons and daughters feasting (Figure 2.8); and Job's three friends, crowned and on horseback (Figures 2.9 and 2.10).⁴⁷ Although the iconography and sequence of imagery in the Paris manuscript are modeled in the Oxford manuscript, the style of the Oxford Job manuscript has been adapted to a more contemporary Italian Renaissance treatment of the landscape, space, and human form.⁴⁸

PARIS, BNF, GR. 135

The Paris manuscript has a colophon (fol. 247v), which includes a date of production, 1362, as well as the name of the scribe, Manuel Tzykandyles.⁴⁹ What makes this manuscript so distinct from other examples of illustrated Job manuscripts is the integration of Western stylistic elements such as the tripartite crown, royal costume, and the seated posture of Job (Figure 2.7).⁵⁰ Yet, when compared to Byzantine imagery of Job, this fourteenth-century manuscript emerges an inheritor of a long tradition in Job illumination from Byzantine manuscripts, heavily reliant on Western iconographic motifs, and adapted to accommodate new iconography and styles. The manuscript is written in Greek on thick paper, with a watermark that I have identified with early fourteenth-century Siena.⁵¹ It is a standard compilation of the Greek commentaries on Job. The 198 images illustrate the story of Job and are painted in watercolor with light colors and brown outlines.

The Paris Job uniquely assimilated a variety of styles, including those from France, Byzantium, and, perhaps most strongly, from Italy. One example of this assimilation, and a possible model for the Paris Job manuscript, is a manuscript of the *Meditations on the Life of Christ* (Paris, BNF, Ital. 115) (Figure 2.10). The Italian manuscript dates to c. 1340 and is also on paper with the same watermark as that of the Paris Job.⁵² The two manuscripts are also similar in

⁴⁶ Oxford, Bodleian, Laud gr. 86, p. 7.

⁴⁷ Paris, BNF, gr. 135, fols. 7v, 18v, and 39 compared to Oxford, Bodleian, Laud. gr. 86, pp. 4, 7, 10, 26, and 60.

⁴⁸ Examples within the manuscript tradition can be found in the late fourteenth- and fifteenth-century illustrated *Tacuinum Sanitatis* manuscripts, such as Paris, BNF, Lat. 9333, 1445–51, for example. Ambrogio Lorenzetti's frescoes within the Palazzo Pubblico, Siena (1340) are also earlier Italian examples of the prominent trends in landscape, space, and human form.

⁴⁹ See note 3 for significant studies on this manuscript.

⁵⁰ Paris, BNF, gr. 135, fol. 7v.

⁵¹ Andrews, *Imagery in the Aftermath of the Crusades*, p. 40.

⁵² Ibid. For the watermark of Paris, Ital. 115 see Briquet, *Les filigranes*, vol. 1, p. 215.

their layout and choice of iconography. The subject matter of the Meditations on the Life of Christ is Christ's life and miracles, therefore all of the images in the Paris Meditation manuscript differ in subject matter and meaning from the Paris Job manuscripts. Yet, there is some similarity in style and iconography of the images: for example, in the gestures of the men on horseback in both manuscripts (Figures 2.9 and 2.10) as well as in the architectural details of the enclosure walls and vaults, and details of daily life.⁵³

Although a specific model for the Paris Job manuscript cannot be recovered, the manuscript's production was certainly effected by the transmission of Western artistic elements to the East. After 1204 the Peloponnese was especially affected by the settlement immigration of Western Crusaders and Latin religious groups such as the Dominicans and Franciscans. These settlers built churches and castles in their familiar Gothic style, and surely brought with them the basic materials of books, portable altars, and perhaps tapestry to adorn them.⁵⁴ Diplomatic missions and intermarriage brought with them the essential component of gift-giving. Art objects themselves were mobile in the Middle Ages. Within the context of a region of well-established cultural variety like the Peloponnese, the search for an artist of particular origin does not seem practical. Artists of both Latin and Greek descent were likely to have been exposed to multiple languages, religions, social rituals, and visual forms within the Peloponnese.

With this diverse historical and artistic background, it is also important to our understanding of the afterlife of the Paris Job manuscript to determine whether it was painted in Greece or somewhere else. The evidence in the colophon, and Manuel Tzykandyles's confirmed presence in Mistra at the time, strongly suggests that the manuscript was copied in the Peloponnese.⁵⁵ The Paris Job appears to have been written before it was illustrated. This is evident in the way imagery is squeezed in at the end of the text where the scribe

⁵³ Paris, BNF, gr. 135, fols. 39, 196, and 134; and Paris, BNF, Ital. 115, fols. 27v, 40, and 43v. For further discussion on the relationship of these manuscripts see: Justine Andrews, "Familiar foreigners: Artistic innovations in a fourteenth-century illustrated commentary on Job," *Arte Medievale* series II, 14, 1–2 (2000): 113–20; Justine Andrews, "Crossing boundaries: Byzantine and Western influence in a fourteenth-century illustrated commentary on Job," in Alixe Bovey and John Lowden (eds), *Under the Influence: The Concept of Influence and the Study of Illuminated Manuscripts* (Turnhout, 2007), pp. 111–19.

⁵⁴ On monastic settlements in Greece see Peter Lock, *The Franks in the Aegean, 1204–1500* (London, 1995), p. 224. John Hanson notes the cultural interchange of art objects in regard to a Byzantine ivory casket in "The Stuttgart casket and the permeability of the Byzantine artistic tradition," *Gesta*, 37/1 (1998): 18–19. Doula Mouriki also reminds us that there was close contact between Mistra and both Constantinople and the West through political ties and marriage. "Palaeologan Mistra and the West," in *Byzantium and Europe, First International Byzantine Conference, Delphi: 20–24 July, 1985* (Athens, 1987), pp. 209–46. For general comments on the circulation of objects see Roland Recht, "La circulation des artistes, des oeuvres, des modèles dans l'Europe médiévale," *Revue de l'Art*, 120/2 (1998): 5–10.

⁵⁵ Documents and colophons from other manuscripts establish Tzykandyles's presence in Mistra at this time. Erich Trapp, *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit* (Vienna, 1981) nos. 28129 and 11315.

left little room, particularly at the end of the manuscript.⁵⁶ In terms of style, the text and imagery are from the same time period, so they must have been completed within a short time of each other. The adherence of this manuscript to the long sequence of illustrations for the Job Commentaries in the Byzantine tradition suggests that a fully illustrated Byzantine manuscript was available as a model. This requirement, together with the individual motifs drawn from a variety of Western sources, leads me to believe production in an area with many Orthodox monasteries, as well as an influx of Western manuscripts from Italy and France, or possibly the Latin kingdoms in the East. The most likely site of production allies with the information given in the colophon of the Paris Job manuscript and points to Mistra and the Peloponnese; other possibilities include regions of similar diversity, such as Cyprus or Crete. This shows a continuation of the provincial tradition that Annemarie Weyl Carr suggested was present in the Eastern Mediterranean through the middle of the thirteenth century. Carr established that the Peloponnese, Cyprus, and Palestine could be understood as a loose artistic community. While not necessarily establishing specific or individual ateliers, the administrative and monastic ties of these regions defined an artistic tradition for the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.⁵⁷ The fourteenth-century Paris Job confirms the production of Greek illustrated manuscripts outside Constantinople, and can be included in the artistic tradition of the Eastern Mediterranean, expanding that tradition into the fourteenth century. The Oxford Job manuscript expands our understanding of the Eastern Mediterranean manuscript tradition even further, into the sixteenth century.

Conclusions

There was ample opportunity for artistic exchange given the immigration of people to Cyprus during the late fifteenth and into the middle of the sixteenth century. On an elite level the intermarriage between rulers of the Byzantine Despotate at Mistra and the Lusignan family in Cyprus enhanced this exchange. The fourteenth-century Paris Job manuscript from Mistra may have traveled to Cyprus to be copied. Artists from Venice, or trained there, may have been present in Cyprus in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries working on frescoes and manuscripts. I suggest that, based on this historical context, paleographic evidence, and the fresco fragment in Saints Peter and Paul church in Famagusta, the sixteenth-century Oxford Job manuscript can be associated with Cyprus, and perhaps with Famagusta in particular, at least as easily as it can be connected to Venice or another Venetian stronghold such as Crete.

⁵⁶ Andrews, *Imagery in the Aftermath of the Crusades*, pp. 38–40.

⁵⁷ Carr, *Byzantine Illumination*, pp. 25–8. She suggests that there was a shared community between Cyprus, Palestine, and the Peloponnese, and that wall painting and architectural details show affinities between southern Greece and Cyprus through the twelfth century.

And, finally, the afterlife of the Oxford manuscript itself unfolds. Its connection to a southern German collection in late sixteenth century could also bear on its connection to, or production in, Cyprus. From owners' inscriptions we know that a Cypriot scribe and musicologist, Hieronymos Tragoudistes, collected manuscripts while he lived in Cyprus through 1545.⁵⁸ From his musical treatise and letters we know that Tragoudistes studied in Venice for nine years and then took a job in Augsburg in southern Germany, where in 1558 he became a librarian for the Fugger collection.⁵⁹ According to Hutter's analysis of the binding of the Oxford Job manuscript, it was also in a southern German collection by the end of the sixteenth century.⁶⁰ The watermark of later pages added to the Oxford Job manuscript also suggests a connection with Augsburg in the mid-sixteenth century.⁶¹ Yet, whether the Oxford Job manuscript was made in Venice or Cyprus, the presence of Tragoudistes—a Cypriot librarian, educated in Venice, working in southern Germany at the same time that we know the Oxford Job manuscript was located in that region—offers a tempting link to the history of this manuscript.⁶²

Although the evidence for an exact locus of production for the Oxford Job manuscript is slight, my hope is that this investigation will be a reminder of what Annemarie Weyl Carr eloquently laid out for the thirteenth century.⁶³ The broader circuit of influence, correspondence, and exchange among the artistic centers of the Eastern Mediterranean is continuous, despite plague and major shifts in rulership, well into the sixteenth century. The illustrated manuscripts of the Commentaries on Job need not be limited to a trajectory between Byzantium and Italy, but can also be considered as products of the complex and persistent fusion of forms before, during, and after the life of these manuscripts.

Annemarie Weyl Carr has been an extraordinary mentor throughout my graduate career and beyond. She instilled in me a great love of Cyprus and all the complexities it holds. I am grateful for her guidance and friendship.

⁵⁸ Constantinides and Browning, *Dated Greek Manuscripts*, p. 21.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 21 and 300. It is intriguing to note that there was a Hieronymus Wolf (1516–80) who also worked for the Fugger Library in Augsburg. He was an accomplished scholar of Greek who compiled a catalog of Byzantine sources of Greek history. See Helen Evans's introduction in *Byzantium Faith and Power*, p. 5; also Hans-Georg Beck, *Der Vater des deutschen Byzantinistik des Leben des Hieronymus Wolf von ihm selbst Erzählt* (Munich, 1984); and W. Oliver Strunk, "A Cypriot in Venice," in *Essays on Music in the Western World* (New York, 1974). Wolf appears to have been born in Germany; therefore the homonymous scholars do not appear to be the same person.

⁶⁰ Hutter, *Corpus*, p. 54.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

⁶² Constantinides and Browning, *Dated Greek Manuscripts*, p. 21. Tragoudistes owned the manuscript that is now Paris gr. 1391. According to his owner's inscription it was copied in 1300 in Paphos district. Tragoudistes has it in his possession by 1541 in Cyprus.

⁶³ Carr, *Byzantine Illumination*.

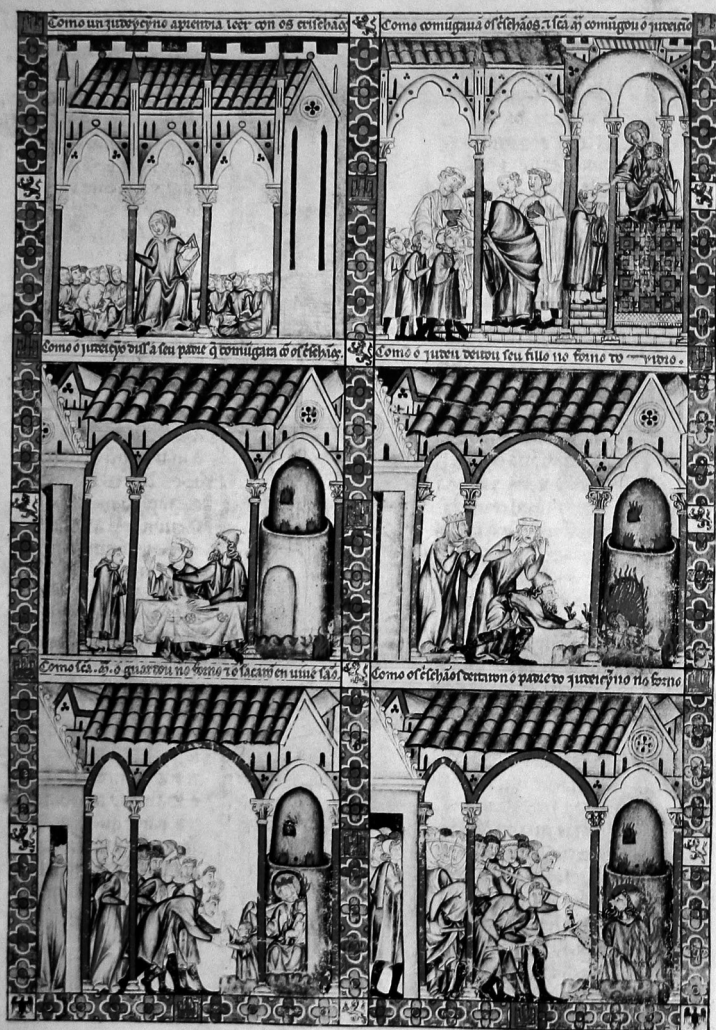
The Little Jewish Boy: Afterlife of a Byzantine Legend in Thirteenth-Century Spain

Pamela A. Patton

Annemarie Weyl Carr's boundless intellectual range more than once included forays from Byzantium into medieval Iberia, a part of the world that, despite its remoteness from the Byzantine *omphalos*, speedily came to appreciate the unique dynamic powers of the Virgin Mary and her images.¹ These brief but rewarding intersections of our interests inspired the present work, which traces the visual afterlife of a Marian miracle story as it traveled from its source in Byzantium to my arguably less civilized corner of the Mediterranean world. In honoring the legacy that Annemarie built during her sojourn on the prairies of "New Spain," I hope that the scrutiny of this miracle's westward journey will offer fresh testimony to the centrality of the Byzantine legacy in the medieval visual world, even in unexpected places and times.

The narrative in question is known by various nicknames, perhaps most commonly that of "The Jewish Boy of Bourges." As we shall see below, it tells the story of a little Jewish lad who innocently takes communion with his Christian friends and is locked by his enraged father in a hotly burning furnace. Protected from the flames by the Virgin Mary, the boy is eventually rescued and, sometimes along with his mother, converts to Christianity. Originating in sixth-century Byzantium and almost immediately afterward picked up by Latin authors, this narrative became one of the most widely repeated Marian legends in Western Christendom, where it found memorable musical-visual form in a now famous illustrated manuscript of the *Cantigas de Santa María* that was made for King Alfonso X of Castile around 1280 (Biblioteca de El Escorial, MS T.I.1).

¹ Annemarie Weyl Carr, "East, west, and icons in twelfth-century Outremer," in Vladimir P. Goss (ed.), *The Meeting of Two Worlds: Cultural Exchange between East and West During the Period of the Crusades* (Kalamazoo, MI, 1986), 347–60.



desta nina não al puelle mearren le qui fero
 a morio e qmado por la saurie cruel e zorra
 Aste fero e por este miragre alo virgen asse.
 fero al fero du al fero al fero fero al fero
 fero al fero al fero le madre al fero fero la
 onse e daniel e a del fero guarro al meny
 no li e fero al.

Fig. 3.1 [Plate 5] The Jewish Boy Who Took Communion (Cantiga 4), *Cantigas de Santa María*. Biblioteca de El Escorial, MS T.I.1, fol. 9v.

As I will argue in this chapter, the illustration of this *cantiga* merits particular notice for its unique intermingling of visual elements—physiognomic distortion, recognizable local costume, and vividly physical violence—that endow the boy's spiritual transformation with multiple layers of meaning, many of which reflect to preoccupations peculiar to the *cantiga's* Iberian milieu (Figure 3.1 = Plate 5). These concerns included whether and how to regulate social proximity among the faith groups of a deeply multiethnic society; anxieties about how the rapid reshaping of political boundaries at the peak of the Iberian Reconquest challenged longstanding social and religious ones, or the lack of them; and frustration with the continued permeability of those same boundaries despite reinforcement by both Crown and Church. Yet, as we shall see, the effectiveness with which these distinctly local concerns were brought out in the illustration rests largely on the adroitness with which a Greek textual narrative, imported from a time and place so distant from this distinctive Iberian milieu, could be adapted to serve these localized concerns. Retracing the tale's peregrination from sixth-century Byzantium to Alfonso's thirteenth-century court effectively reveals its force and flexibility.

Consideration of the visual ancestry of the Jewish Boy tale is well overdue. While its various texts have enjoyed a long history of scholarly study, from the philological work of Eugen Wolter to Miri Rubin's erudite analysis of the story's late medieval texts and contexts, few scholars have closely investigated how the various verbal permutations of the tale intersected with the vivid pictorial versions that began cropping up in its wake as it passed from Byzantium across Western Europe and into central Spain.² How precisely did such verbal texts nurture the visual narratives they inspired? How did they continue to shape the images as they themselves evolved? A closer look at the legend's visual and textual afterlife will reveal how the wide scattering of texts, images, and associations that it inspired across Europe would come to endow the *cantiga* illustration with its prismatic effectiveness.

² These include Eugen Wolter, *Der Judenknabe: 5 Griechische, 14 Lateinische un 8 Französische Texte* (Halle, 1879); Theodor Pelizaeus, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Legende vom Judenknabe* (PhD dissertation, Halle a. d. Saale, 1914); Theodor Nissen, "Zu den ältesten Fassungen der Legende vom Judenknaben," *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur* 62 (1939): 393–403; Wernfried Hofmeister, "Das Jüdel im Kontext mitteldeutscher literarischer Kindesdarstellungen," in A. Ebenbauer and Klaus Zatloukal (eds), *Die Juden in ihrer Mittelalterlichen Umwelt* (Vienna, 1991), 91–103; Heike A. Burmeister, *Der Judenknabe: Studien und Texte zu einem mittelalterlichen Marienmirakel in deutscher Überlieferung* (Göppingen, 1998); and Miri Rubin, *Gentile Tales: The Narrative Assault on Late Medieval Jews* (College Park, PA, 1999), 7–39. For depictions of the Jewish Boy tale in several late medieval English manuscripts, see Denise L. Despres, "Mary of the Eucharist: Cultic anti-Judaism in some fourteenth-century English devotional manuscripts," in Jeremy Cohen (ed.), *From Witness to Witchcraft: Jews and Judaism in Medieval Christian Thought* (Wiesbaden, 1996), 375–401.

Tracing the Jewish Boy Tale from Byzantium to France

Although earlier Greek versions of the Jewish Boy narrative may have existed, the earliest surviving account appears in the *Ecclesiastical History* of Evagrius Scholasticus (536/37–after 594).³ Evagrius' tale, set in Constantinople, is brief and appealingly homespun. It tells how one day, during the customary distribution of the unused remains of eucharistic bread to the city's young schoolboys, a Jewish boy who happened to be with the lads shared in the feast. His father, a glassmaker, became furious upon learning of his son's participation and locked the boy in the burning glass-furnace. Unable to find the boy, his desperate mother wandered the city for three days until she entered her husband's workshop and heard her son calling from the furnace; she forced open the doors and found him unharmed among the coals. When asked how he had survived, the boy reported that he had been protected during his ordeal by a woman in a purple robe, who brought him food and offered him water to quench the flames around him. Upon discovery of the miracle, the child and his mother were baptized at the Emperor Justinian's command, while the father refused conversion and was impaled in Sycae, outside the city.⁴

Many aspects of this laconic tale remain unexplained. It is unclear, for example, whether the boy understood the implications of his consumption of the bread (perhaps related to the Eastern custom of distributing blessed but unconsecrated eucharistic bread as the *antidoron*), nor why his father reacted so murderously to this apparently innocent act. Instead, the story's focus rests on the boy's Christlike three-day enclosure in the furnace, on the Virgin's protective role, and on the intervention of the emperor in the fate of both father and son. Such themes conform well with the general tenor of Evagrius' *History*, in which such miracles serve to highlight the spiritual triumphs and imperial endorsement enjoyed by the early Byzantine Church.⁵

Quite different concerns emerge, by contrast, in the earliest known Latin version of the tale, which was composed shortly after 590 by Gregory of Tours (c. 538–94) as part of his *De gloria martyrum*.⁶ Gregory likewise situates the story in the East (*in Oriente*) and identifies the boy as the son of a glazier; he also establishes the lad more firmly as a schoolmate of the Christian boys, with whom he was "studying and learning the alphabet."⁷

³ Michael Whitby, trans. and intro., *The Ecclesiastical History of Evagrius Scholasticus* (Liverpool, 2000); for the Greek, see Wolter, *Judenknabe*.

⁴ Whitby, *Ecclesiastical History*, 241–2.

⁵ On the *antidoron*, see Nicón D. Patrinos, *A Dictionary of Greek Orthodoxy* (Pleasantville, NY, 1987), 30–31.

⁶ Gregory of Tours, *Glory of the Martyrs*, trans. and intro. Raymond van Dam (Liverpool, 1988), 29–31. See also Gregory of Tours, *De Gloria Martyrum*, I, cap. X. *Patrologia Latina*, ed. J.P. Migne and A. Hamman (Paris, 1844–64): LXXI, 732, col. 714C.

⁷ Gregory of Tours, *Glory of the Martyrs*, 29–30.

His most significant development, however, is his conversion of the boy's consumption of the bread into true liturgical communication: he tells how the lad accompanies the other boys to Mass, where he joins them in receiving the eucharist. This revision helps to clarify the furious reaction of the Jewish father, for whom the boy's innocent act now becomes an affront deserving of draconian consequences. He declares, "If you have communicated with these boys and forgotten your ancestral worship, then to avenge this insult to the law of Moses I will step forward against you as a merciless murderer," and throws the boy into his blazing oven, adding wood to make the fire burn more strongly.⁸ The boy's mother learns immediately about the attack, but unlike her Byzantine counterpart she is unable to rescue her child on her own. Instead, her cries attract the Christians of the town, who open the furnace, pull out the boy, and—in an act of mob vigilantism that surely would have surprised Evagrius—throw the father into the flames. The boy and his mother then convert, inspiring other Jews to do the same.

Miri Rubin has written perceptively of the eucharistic themes raised by Gregory's legend and its many Western variants, noting especially their potential to serve as "witness tales" in which the eucharist itself offered the impetus to convert.⁹ Such a view is borne out by the boy's evident familiarity with Christian culture and its practices, which seems to inform his actions more directly than in the Greek version of the tale. The bread that he consumes here is not merely the remains of that intended for the Mass, but a consecrated host that has actually transubstantiated; it is the body of Christ. The boy's impulsive desire to partake of it highlights the attractiveness of the eucharist in his innocent eyes and sets him firmly on the path toward conversion, themes firmly in keeping with the concerns of the early Latin Church.¹⁰

Gregory's version of the tale gained still further dimensions when later variants of his narrative came to be included in the numerous Marian miracle collections that were beginning to circulate in Western Europe during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. As first formulated in England and then disseminated in France, Germany, the Netherlands, Italy, and eventually also Iberia by such authors as Gautier de Coincy, Caesarius of Heisterbach, Vincent of Beauvais, and Gonzalo de Berceo, these narratives were unified by the emphatic protagonism of the Virgin Mary, whose repeated agency on behalf of her followers reflected her generally expanded role in the medieval West.¹¹ The collections' strong Marian emphasis also exerted an influence on

⁸ Gregory of Tours, *Glory of the Martyrs*, 30.

⁹ Rubin, *Gentile Tales*, 7–27, esp. 9.

¹⁰ Rubin, *Gentile Tales*, 9–10.

¹¹ On the miracle tradition, see see Adolf Mussafia, "Studien zu den mittelalterlichen Marienlegenden," *Sitzungsberichte der kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, philosophisch-historische Classe* 113, no. 2 (1886), 917–94; 115, no. 1 (1888), 5–92; 119, no. 9 (1889), 1–66; 123, no. 8 (1891), 1–85 and 139, no. 8 (1898), 1–74; Richard Southern, "The

the shape of the Jewish Boy tale, which now shifted away from eucharistic concerns to focus on the Virgin's protection of the lad against the violence of his father. For a high medieval audience, this shift could prompt powerful associations: Mary's maternal defense of an innocent boy from his merciless Jewish attacker easily evoked the narrative framework of the Passion, allowing the Jewish father to reenact the merciless violence of Christ's biblical attackers, while the boy, although still only an incipient Christian, offered a satisfactorily symbolic stand-in for Mary's sacrificed son.¹² Such associations were consistent with a contemporaneous obsession among medieval Christian writers with the role of Jews generally in the death of Christ, once presented by theologians as virtually inadvertent but now increasingly transformed into a conscious, premeditated act of violence.¹³

The vitality of this association is more than clear in the poetic version of the tale composed by the French monk Gautier de Coincy in his early thirteenth-century *Miracles de Nostre Dame*. Coincy's two-volume vernacular collection of 58 narratives and 18 chansons enjoyed an extraordinary popularity in its own day, as reflected in the 61 manuscripts still surviving from the thirteenth century alone. It became a fundamental source for many subsequent collections, among them the *Cantigas de Santa María* themselves.¹⁴

Coincy's version of the Jewish Boy story follows the general outline of Gregory's narrative, identifying the boy as the son of a glazier who imitates his Christian schoolmates in taking communion during Mass. However, it intensifies the tension between the innocent future convert and his malevolent Jewish father in a manner carefully attuned to his medieval audience. First, it shifts the story's location from Constantinople to the French city of Bourges, a familiar and contemporary setting whose recent religious controversies may well have heightened the tale's inherent tensions.¹⁵ Next, it actively develops

English origins of the 'miracles of the Virgin,'" *Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 4 (1958): 176–216; Beverly Boyd, *The Middle English Miracles of the Virgin* (San Marino, CA, 1964); Evelyn Faye Wilson, *The Stella Maris of John of Garland* (Cambridge, MA, 1946); and Rubin, *Gentile Tales*, 10–16. On the cult of the Virgin in this period, see Miri Rubin, *Mother of God: A History of the Virgin Mary* (New Haven, CT, 2009), 191–284.

¹² A similarly syllogistic reception of other miracles is described by Rubin, *Gentile Tales*, 141–2.

¹³ See especially Jeremy Cohen, "The Jews as killers of Christ in the Latin tradition: From Augustine to the friars," *Traditio* 39 (1983), 1–27; and *Christ Killers: The Jews and the Passion from the Bible to the Big Screen* (Oxford, 2007), esp. 73–92.

¹⁴ Tony Hunt, *Miraculous Rhymes: The Writing of Gautier de Coincy* (Cambridge, 2007), 3–4. On the surviving manuscripts, see Arlette P. Ducrot-Granderye, *Études sur les miracles Nostre Dame de Gautier de Coincy* (Helsinki, 1932); and Ardis Butterfield, "Introduction. Gautier de Coincy, *Miracles de Nostre Dame*: Texts and manuscripts," in Kathy M. Krause and Alison Stones (eds), *Gautier de Coincy: Miracles, Music, and Manuscripts* (Turnhout, 2006), 1–18. The standard critical edition is Gautier de Coincy, *Les Miracles de Nostre Dame*, ed. V. Frederic Koenig (4 vols, Geneva, 1961–70).

¹⁵ Gilbert Dahan, "Les Juifs dans les *Miracles* de Gautier de Coincy," *Archives Juives* (1980): 41–8 and 59–68, esp. 43.

the moral contrast between father and son by rendering it in somatic terms, jarringly juxtaposing a description of the boy as very intelligent and even more beautiful (“mielz entendant et mout plus bel”) against an account of the merciless abuse to which his father subjects his tender flesh (“La char, qu’avoit tenrete et mole,/sovent ses pere li batoit/por ce qu’avec aus s’embatoit”).¹⁶ Finally, it sets the Mass at which the boy communicates not just on any feast day but on Easter itself, activating the linkage between the boy’s victimization by a malevolent Jew and “resurrection” from the furnace with the central events of the Passion.¹⁷ Most striking of all, however, is the degree to which Coincy frames the boy’s predicament not as a problem of individual violence or disbelief, but as a more categorical problem of Jews versus Christians, a natural extension of a presumed Jewish hostility toward Christ. His tale thus ends not with an account of the father’s death and the boy’s conversion, but with a multi-stanza diatribe on the Jews as a group, which ends: “I am so very hard towards them/That if I were king of the whole kingdom/I would not tolerate even one of them.”¹⁸

With its evocative overlaying of eucharistic and Passion themes, Mariolatry, and garden variety anti-Judaism, Coincy’s version of the story provides a foundation of unparalleled conceptual richness for the visual tradition that would follow.

Envisioning the Narrative

The earliest pictorial narratives of the Jewish Boy tale convey few of the thematic layers accrued by the textual versions of the tale. Unlike these verbal sources, the visual tradition appears to have originated in the West: the earliest surviving exemplars appear in English and French stained glass beginning in the second quarter of the thirteenth century.¹⁹ These display an abbreviation characteristic of their medium, typically comprising two or three essential scenes. Two fragments of the tale, produced between 1220 and 1235, survive in the north choir aisle of Lincoln Cathedral; two more short cycles appear in the north and south ambulatories of Le Mans Cathedral, where

¹⁶ Gautier de Coincy, *Miracles*, II: 95, lines 6–14.

¹⁷ On references to the Passion in this tale, see especially Daniel E. O’Sullivan, “Reading children in Gautier de Coinci’s *Miracles de Notre Dame*,” *Neophilologus* 89 (2005): 201–19, esp. 204–7.

¹⁸ Translation from Rubin, *Gentile Tales*, 14; see also Gautier de Coincy, *Miracles*, II: 100, lines 140–43.

¹⁹ A brief overview of its emergence in the West is offered by Maurice Vloberg, *L’eucharistie dans l’art* (Grenoble, 1946), 113–14; see also Anna Russakoff, “Imaging the miraculous: Les miracles de Notre-Dame (Paris, BnF, n.acq.fr. 24541)” (PhD dissertation, New York University, 2006), 45–66.



Fig. 3.2 [Plate 6] The Jewish Boy who Took Communion, bay 110, south ambulatory window, Le Mans Cathedral.

they were added just after the middle of the thirteenth century.²⁰ Typically such narratives do not stand alone; like their textual contemporaries, they comprise part of a larger ensemble of stories dedicated to the life and miracles of the Virgin.²¹

The Jewish Boy narrative in the south ambulatory window at Le Mans (Bay 110) displays both the truncated format and the characteristic sparseness of the stained glass exemplars (Figure 3.2 = Plate 6). The lowest scene depicts a priest offering communion to a small group of boys; the altar behind him bears a chalice partly covered by a corporal, an obvious reference to the eucharistic miracle just effected in the Mass. In the succeeding scene, the Jewish boy, hands clasped in prayer, is slipped smoothly into the oven by his father as his mother looks on impassively; only the patriarch's knitted brow hints at the malevolence so enthusiastically elaborated in Coincy's and similar texts. In the third and uppermost scene, the boy remains in the oven, but he now rests squarely on the lap of the Virgin, who extends her arms around him in a frontal composition strongly resembling traditional images of the Virgin as "Throne of Wisdom," with the Jewish Boy now occupying the place traditionally taken by the Christ Child.²²

This reduction to the tale's three central narrative moments—communion, immolation, and rescue—and the simplified iconography of the series offer only limited thematic elaboration; they play mainly upon the eucharistic and Christological themes most deeply rooted in the textual tradition. In the first scene, the presence of chalice and corporal on the altar asserts the centrality of the eucharist and its transfigurative power, while the displacement of the Christ Child by the Jewish boy in the third scene hints at his role as a stand-in for the Savior. Far more limited, however, is the anti-Jewish dimension developed so richly in the texts of the Marian tradition. In the scene of the boy's attempted immolation, the father's robotic movements and the mother's quiescent stare deaden the potentially dynamic opposition between tender Christ-surrogate and enraged Jewish attacker; and, indeed, little visual reference is made to the Jewishness of either father or son. The boy's soft features and simple yellow tunic render him nearly indistinguishable from his Christian schoolfriends, while the father lacks the stereotypically Jewish signs, such as an enlarged nose or a grimace, that were at this date well

²⁰ The Lincoln scenes depict the boy being thrust into the oven and his protection by the Virgin; see Nigel Morgan, *The Medieval Painted Glass of Lincoln Cathedral* (London, 1983), 9–11 and 30. On Le Mans, see Meredith Parsons Lillich, *Armor of Light: Stained Glass in Western France* (Berkeley, CA, 1994), 10–47; and Henry Kraus, *The Living Theater of Medieval Art* (Bloomington, IN, 1967), 159–61.

²¹ Lillich, *Armor*, 29–31; see also Meredith Parsons Lillich, "Gothic glaziers: Monks, Jews, taxpayers, Bretons, women," *Journal of Glass Studies* 28 (1985), 72–92, esp. 72–3.

²² Ilene E. Forsyth, *The Throne of Wisdom: Wood Sculptures of the Madonna in Romanesque France* (Princeton, NJ, 1972).

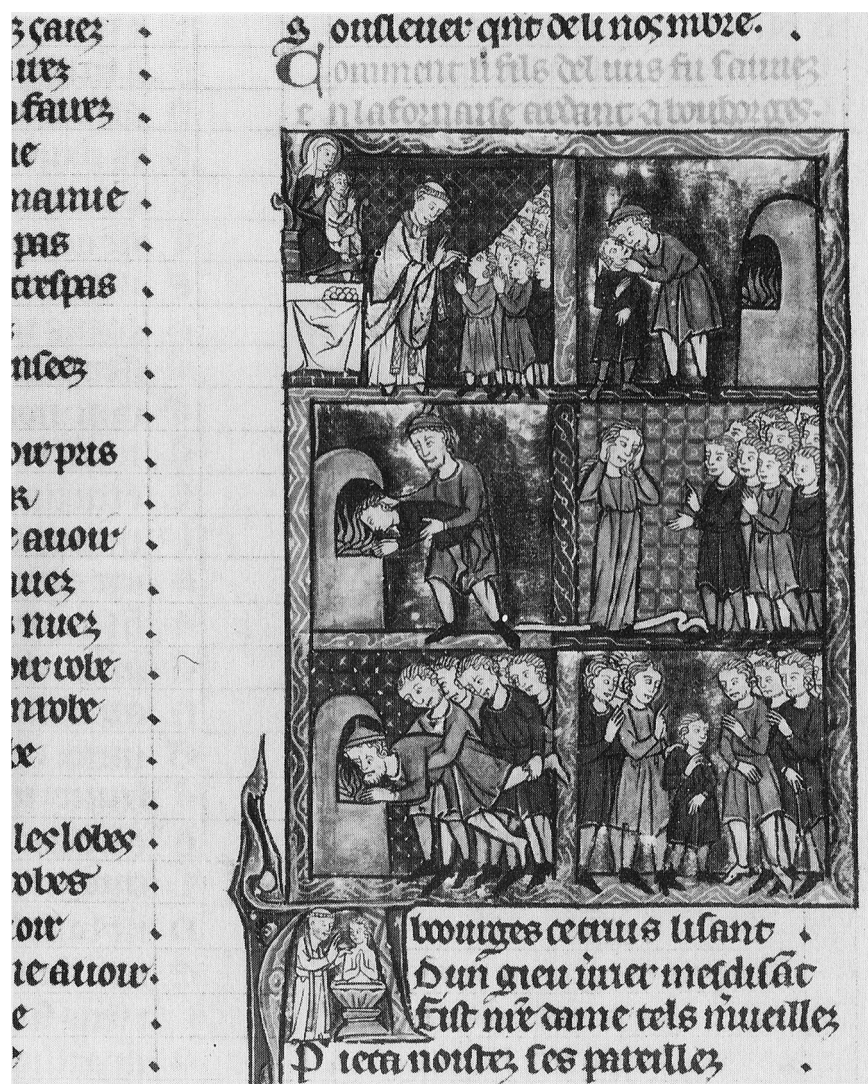


Fig. 3.3 The Jewish Boy Who Took Communion, *Miracles de Nostre Dame*. National Library of Russia, Fr. F.v. XIV 9, fol. 71r.

established elsewhere in the European visual lexicon. Only his softly peaked cap signals his religious identity.²³

²³ On the "Jewish hat," see Danièle Sancy, "Chapeau juif ou chapeau pointu? Esquisse d'un signe d'infamie," in *Symbole des Alltags, Alltag der Symbole* (Graz, 1992): 349–75. Bibliography on the iconography assigned to medieval Jews is extensive; for an overview, see Debra Strickland, *Saracens, Demons, and Jews: Making Monsters in Medieval Art* (Princeton,

The relative conservatism of stained glass cycles like that at Le Mans might be ascribed to several factors, above all to the newness of the image tradition, which at this date had not had time to develop the symbolic elaboration of its textual equivalent. The peculiar demands of such cycles' medium and setting may also have limited the number and complexity of the scenes planned for each window. However, these differences did not result from setting and medium alone: even in the comparatively flexible realm of thirteenth-century manuscript painting, pictorial narratives of the Jewish Boy tale often display a similar reticence.

This is nowhere more clear than in the illustrations of the Jewish Boy tale found in manuscripts of Coincy's *Miracles de Nostre Dame*. The production of such illustrated codices can be traced in France from about 1260 onward; of those thirteenth-century manuscripts that survive, at least eight preserve an illustration of the Jewish Boy tale, providing an ideal opportunity to examine the artistic response to Coincy's text.²⁴ Yet these illustrations are surprisingly modest: most often, they take the form of a single historiated initial enclosing the tale's most recognizable narrative moment, that of the father placing his son in the oven; and they lack the symbolic elaboration that would permit consideration of the tale's more complex themes.

In only two surviving thirteenth-century Coincy manuscripts does the Jewish Boy story approach the narrative richness of its model. Now in Paris (Bibliothèque Nationale, MS lat. 22928) and St. Petersburg (National Library of Russia, Fr. F.v. XIV 9), these manuscripts contain rectangular multi-episodic miniatures preceding the text of the tale.²⁵ The illustration in the St. Petersburg manuscript (fol. 71r) is more extensive. It configures the tale in six scenes, which are contained within a rectangular panel set into the column where the miracle poem begins (Figure 3.3).²⁶ In the first scene, a priest stands before an altar bearing a sculpture of the Virgin and Child and offers communion to the foremost of several boys, whose packed bodies form a pyramidal mass that nearly fills the space. In the next, the boy embraces his father, who scrutinizes his son in apparent reference to Coincy's claim that the young communicant's

NJ, 2003), 95–155; and Ruth Mellinkoff, *Outcasts: Signs of Otherness in Northern European Art in the Later Middle Ages* (2 vols, Berkeley, CA, 1993).

²⁴ Both of these were likely produced in the third quarter of the thirteenth century. On illustrated Coincy manuscripts of this period, see Alison Stones, "Notes on the artistic context of some Gautier de Coinci manuscripts," in Krause and Stones (eds), *Gautier de Coinci*, 65–98 and Appendices III and IV (pp. 369–96). See also Christine Lapostolle, "Images et apparitions: Illustrations des 'Miracles de Nostre-Dame,'" *Médiévale* 2 (1982): 47–67; and Russakoff, "Imaging the miraculous," 76–95 and 327–36.

²⁵ Lapostolle discusses illustrations of this tale in various Gautier manuscripts, including Paris, BNF 22928; see "Images et apparitions," 55–61.

²⁶ I.P. Mokretsova and V.I. Romanova, *Les manuscrits enluminés français du XIIIe siècle dans les collections soviétiques, 1270–1300* (Moscow, 1984), 102–3; and Tamara Voronova and Andrei Sterligov, *Les manuscrits enluminés occidentaux du VIIIe au XVIe siècle à la Bibliothèque nationale de Russie de Saint-Petersbourg, France, Espagne, Angleterre, Allemagne, Italie, Pays-Bas*, trans. Mireille Faure (St. Petersburg, 1996), 66–7.

face “shone with his great joy.”²⁷ Two subsequent scenes depict first the father tossing the boy headfirst into his already burning oven, then the mother, who tears her hair as her cries summon the townspeople. In the final two panels, the townspeople first throw the father into the oven, and then rejoice as the boy explains his divine protection. Beneath the panel, the initial A that introduces the poetic text contains a tiny image of the boy’s baptism.

In extending the visual narrative into multiple scenes, this illustration offers a closer approximation of the events recounted in the text. By extending beyond the essential narrative moments of the boy’s communion, immolation, and rescue, it plays on the very polarities of tenderness and violence innovated by Coincy. The Virgin and Child make gestures of blessing from the altar as the boy accepts communion; the lad’s shining face stands against his father’s angry grimace and his mother’s desperate gestures as he is thrown into the fire; and the rambunctious throng of townspeople forms an impromptu Greek chorus that responds to the mother’s cries, deposits the father in the oven, and celebrates the boy’s rescue.

Yet despite its extensiveness, even this illustration falls short of the possibilities raised by the text’s deeply layered discourse, especially its strongly anti-Jewish slant. The communion and furnace scenes preserve the spare formulae of the stained glass exemplars, and neither the boy’s Jewishness nor that of his father is signaled strongly beyond the latter’s conventional pointed hat. Even the potentially cathartic scene in which the mob thrusts the father into the furnace possesses an almost balletic detachment. Neither this nor the other thirteenth-century illustrations of the tale offers a precedent for the earthy, immediate violence found in the *Cantigas de Santa María*.

Illustrating the Jewish Boy Tale in the *Cantigas de Santa María*

The tale of the Jewish Boy was among the earliest narratives to join the great compendium of Marian songs known as the *Cantigas de Santa María* when it became part of the first redaction of the collection initiated by the Castilian king Alfonso X (r. 1252–84) in the early 1260s. It thus stood among the earliest Marian miracle tales to be included in a monumental compendium of imported and invented narratives and praise songs that by the end of the king’s reign would number over 400. Whereas this process seems to have occupied at least part of the king’s court from the late 1260s until his death in 1284, it appears to have been only during the final five or six years that Alfonso instructed a team of artists and scribes to copy this collection into the two generously illustrated manuscripts known today.²⁸

²⁷ “Toute sa face resclaira de la grant joie qu’il avoit.” Coincy, *Miracles*, II: 96, line 36.

²⁸ Biblioteca de El Escorial, MS T.I.1 and Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale, banco rari 20. On the collection’s chronology, see esp. Evelyn S. Procter, *Alfonso of Castile: Patron of*

Although four thirteenth-century manuscripts of the *Cantigas de Santa María* have survived, only two contain narrative illustrations: one in the Biblioteca de El Escorial (MS T.I.1) and the other in the Biblioteca Nazionale in Florence (MS *banco rari* 20).²⁹ The two were undoubtedly intended as companion volumes in which each of the songs were to be represented not just by text and musical notation, but also by six- or twelve-panel illustrations occupying either one or two full pages. The Escorial manuscript was likely completed by the early 1280s and still preserves 192 of an original 200 *cantigas*, but the Florence codex was left unfinished, perhaps at Alfonso's death.³⁰ It is in the Escorial manuscript, as Cantiga 4, that the Jewish Boy tale appears.

The illustration of Cantiga 4 presents significant differences from its French and English predecessors.³¹ As elsewhere in the Escorial manuscript, the tale

Literature and Learning (Oxford, 1951), 34–46; Manuel Pedro Ferreira, "The stemma of the Marian *Cantigas*: Philological and musical evidence," *Cantigueiros* 6 (1994): 58–98; María Victoria Chico Picaza, "Cronología de la miniatura Alfonsí: estado de la cuestión," *Anales de la Historia del Arte* 4 (1993–94): 569–76; Joseph O'Callaghan, *Alfonso X and the Cantigas de Santa María: A Poetic Biography* (Leiden, 1998), 8–13; and David Wulstan, "The compilation of the *Cantigas* of Alfonso el Sabio," in *Cobras e Son: Papers on the Text, Music, and Manuscripts of the Cantigas de Santa María*, ed. Stephen Parkinson (Oxford, 2000), 154–85.

²⁹ The unillustrated manuscripts are Biblioteca Nacional de España, MS 10069, which contains 127 songs with skeletal musical notation, and Escorial MS B.I.2, which contains 401 songs with musical notation as well as 40 small panels depicting musicians in performance. See Walter Mettmann, *Cantigas de Santa María* (Coimbra, 1959–72), I: vii–xxiv.

³⁰ Bibliography on the illustrated codices of the *Cantigas de Santa María* is vast. On the works' art historical dimensions, see especially Ana Domínguez Rodríguez and Pilar Treviño Gajardo, *Las Cantigas de Santa María: Formas e imágenes* (Madrid, 2007); María Victoria Chico Picaza, "La relación texto-imagen en las *Cantigas* de Santa María, de Alfonso el Sabio," *Reales Sitios* 28/87 (1986): 61–72; Ellen Kosmer and James F. Powers, "Manuscript illustration: The *Cantigas* in their contemporary art context," in Robert I. Burns (ed.), *Emperor of Culture: Alfonso X the Learned and His Thirteenth-Century Renaissance* (Philadelphia, 1990), 46–71; Deirdre F. Jackson, "Shields of faith: Apotropaic images of the Virgin in Alfonso X's *Cantigas de Santa María*," *RACAR: Revue d'Art Canadienne* 24/2 (1997): 38–46; Rocio Sánchez Ameijeiras, "Imaxes e teoría da imaxe nas *Cantigas de Santa María*," in *As Cantigas de Santa María*, ed. Elvira Fidalgo (Vigo, 2002), 246–301, and "La fortuna sevillana del códice florentino de las *Cantigas*: Tumbas, textos e imágenes," *Quintana* 15 (2002): 257–73; and Francisco Prado-Vilar, "The gothic anamorphic gaze: Regarding the worth of others," in *Under the Influence: Questioning the Comparative in Medieval Castile*, ed. Cynthia Robinson and Leyla Rouhi (Leiden, 2005), 67–100. Scholarship on more specific aspects of the codices, especially the depiction of religious minorities, will be cited below.

³¹ The Jewish Boy *cantiga* has been discussed primarily within broader studies concerned with the representation of Jews in the *Cantigas de Santa María*, among them B.N. Teensma, "Os Judeus na Espanha do século XIII, segunda as *Cantigas* de Santa María de Alfonso X el Sábio," *Ocidente* (1970): 85–102; Albert Bagby, "The Jew in the *Cantigas* of Alfonso X, el Sabio," *Speculum* 46/4 (1971): 670–88 and "The figure of the Jew in the *Cantigas* of Alfonso X," in Israel Katz and John Esten Keller (eds), *Studies on the Cantigas de Santa María: Proceedings of the First International Symposium on the Cantigas de Santa María of Alfonso X El Sabio (1221–1284)* (Madison, WI, 1987), 235–45; Jesús Montoya Martínez, "Judíos y moros en las *Cantigas* de Santa María," *Historia del derecho* (1980), 69–90; Angus Hattton and Vikki McKay, "Anti-Semitism in the *Cantigas de Santa María*," *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies* 61 (1983): 189–99; Mary Louise Trivison, "Prayer and prejudice in the CSM," *Cantigueiros* 1 (1988): 119–27; Dwayne Carpenter, "Social perception and literary portrayal: Jews and Muslims in medieval Spanish literature," in Vivian Mann et al. (eds), *Convivencia: Jews, Muslims, and Christians in Medieval Spain* (New York, 1992), 61–81, and "The portrayal of the

comprises six episodes, each in its own square panel and surmounted by a brief explanatory caption. The first panel depicts the boy seated at school with his friends, an episode absent from earlier visual traditions. In it, a hooded cleric and a cluster of small boys are seated within a vaulted, churchlike space presumably meant to represent an ecclesiastical school. The Jewish boy is difficult to identify among the mass of seated pupils, although his dress in subsequent scenes suggests that he may be the child in brown, his face turned in profile, who sits just to the right of a colonnette at the teacher's left hand. He is far more easily recognized in the second scene, where he displays the costume characteristically assigned to Jewish figures in the *Cantigas de Santa María*: a hooded brown cloak that resembles that actually worn by many Iberian Jews at this date, and curving black slippers similar to those depicted in Western Islamic painting.³² His dress differs distinctly from the simple tunics and shoes of his schoolmates, and it sharpens his separation from them as he steps forward to accept communion not from the priest, but from a sculpture of the Virgin and Child that rests on the church altar.

A more surprising attribute is the hawk-nosed profile that the boy here turns upward toward the Virgin's statue. Echoing a physiognomic stereotype employed widely in images of Jews outside Iberia at this time, this feature draws force both from the unexpectedness of its appearance on a child—for neither in Iberia nor in Europe as a whole were children traditionally caricatured in this way—and from its obvious connection with the exaggerated physiognomy of his father, whose staring eyes, arched nose, dark brows, and shaggy black beard manifest one of the earliest Iberian stereotypes of this kind. For medieval Christian viewers, such facial traits infused Jewish figures with a panoply of moral flaws, among them anger, stubbornness, and violence, that were now implicitly if temporarily shared by both characters.³³

Jew in Alfonso the Learned's *Cantigas de Santa María*," in Bernard Dov Cooperman (ed.), *In Iberia and Beyond: Hispanic Jews Between Cultures* (Newark, DE, 1998): 15–42; Xosé Filgueira Valverde, "Os xudeos nas *Cantigas de Santa María*," in *Xudeos e conversos* (1994): 245–63; and Elvira Fidalgo Francisco, "Consideración social de los judíos a través de las *Cantigas de Santa María*," *Revista de literatura medieval* 8 (1996): 91–104. More recently, see Paolino Rodríguez Barral, "La dialéctica texto-imagen a propósito de la representación del judío en las *Cantigas de Santa María* de Alfonso X," *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 37/1 (2007): 213–43; Peter Klein, "Der Ausdruck unterschiedlicher Konflikte in der Darstellung der Juden und Mauren in den 'Cantigas' Alfons des Weisen von Kastilien und León," in Oliver Auge et al. (eds), *Bereit zum Konflikt: Strategien und Medien Konflikt erzeugungen und Konfliktbewältigung im europäischen Mittelalter* (Ostfildern, 2008), 67–86, and "Moros y judíos en las 'Cantigas' de Alfonso el Sabio: Imágenes de conflictos distintos," in Manuel Valdés Fernández (ed.), *Símpoio Internacional: El legado de Al-Andalus: Al arte andalusí en los reinos de León y Castilla durante la Edad Media* (Valladolid, 2008), 341–64.

³² See Carmen Bernis Madrazo, "Las Cantigas: La vida en el siglo XIII según la representación iconográfica (II). Traje, aderezo, afeites," *Cuadernos de la Alhambra*, 15–17 (1979–81), 89–174, esp. 150.

³³ See Heinz Cecil Roth, "Portraits and caricatures of medieval English Jews," in *Essays and Portraits in Anglo-Jewish History* (Philadelphia, 1962), 22–5; Mellinkoff, *Outcasts*, I: 114–15 and 127–30; Heinz Schreckenberg, *The Jews in Christian Art: An Illustrated History*, trans. John

As such, they contribute indispensably to the Alfonsine narrative. When in the third panel the boy returns home from church to face his father, his outsized nose has precipitously returned to ordinary dimensions, posing a sharp contrast to his patriarch's distorted profile.³⁴ This visual juxtaposition speaks eloquently of both the child's spiritual transformation and the moral failings of the father, whose bulging eyes next converge almost comically over an enormous nose as he jerkily pokes the boy into the blazing furnace.

The final two scenes of the illustration focus on the townspeople's rescue of the boy from the furnace and their violent reprisal toward the father. In the first, a crowd of men and women lean forward to receive the lad as he is propelled out of the furnace by a regal Virgin; in the second, they use sticks to force the struggling father, his brows now contorted in fear, into the translucent flames. This final scene abandons the more tranquil denouement shown in the St. Petersburg illustration, shifting the focus of the tale from the boy's joyful conversion to the father's transgression and gruesome punishment. This reconfiguration even more strongly counterposes the fates of the savage Jewish father and the innocent Christlike son, while the inventive combination of stereotyped physiognomy with locally familiar signifiers like the hooded cloak and "Muslim" slippers effectively grounds their opposition within the medieval Iberian sphere.

What motivated Alfonso's artists to develop a narrative of such immediacy and violence? Lacking obvious visual parallels, we might turn to the various textual versions of the tale that might have been known to the artists as they worked. The Alfonsine narrative itself would have been the most important of these. Although based on Gautier de Coincy's poem, the *cantiga* shortens and restructures that narrative to suit its more concise musical format.³⁵ It dwells particularly on the boy's pleasure in studying hard, his acceptance by his school friends, and his joyous experience in taking communion with them:

He went into the church where he saw the abbot at the altar giving communion wafers and wine from a beautiful chalice to the youths.

Bowden (London, 1996), 303–40; Strickland, *Saracens, Demons, and Jews*, 37–41 and 105–7; Peter Klein, "'Jud, dir kuckt der Spitzbub aus dem Gesicht!' Traditionen antisemitischer Bildstereotype oder die Physiognomie der 'Juden' als Construct," in Helmut Gold et al. (eds), *Abgestempelt: Judenfeindliche Postkarten* (Heidelberg, 1999), 43–78; and Pamela A. Patton, *Art of Estrangement: Redefining Jews in Reconquest Spain* (College Park, PA, 2012), 67–101.

³⁴ As observed in Pamela A. Patton, "Constructing the inimical Jew in the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*: Theophilus's magician in text and image," in Mitch Merback (ed.), *Beyond the Yellow Badge: Anti-Judaism and Antisemitism in Medieval and Early Modern Visual Culture* (Leiden, 2008), 233–56, esp. 239–40. A similar observation has been made by Rodríguez Barral, "Dialéctica texto-imagen," 65, and Klein, "Moros y judíos," 346.

³⁵ On the possible ties between Coincy's work in the composition of the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, see Teresa Marullo, "Osservazioni sulle *Cantigas de Alfonso* e sui *Miracles de Coincy*," *Archivum Romanum* 18 (1934): 495–539; and Rocío Sánchez Ameijeiras, "Imaxes e teoría da imaxe nas *Cantigas de Santa Maria*," in *As Cantigas de Santa Maria*, ed. Elvira Fidalgo (Vigo, 2002), 246–301.

The little Jew was pleased, for it seemed to him that Holy Mary, whom he saw resplendent on the altar cradling Her Son Immanuel in Her arms, was giving them the sacrament.

When the boy saw this vision, it thrilled him so much that he placed himself among the others to receive his portion. Holy Mary then stretched out Her hand to him and gave him communion, which tasted sweeter than honey.³⁶

These elements find apt expression in the opening scene of the *cantiga* illustration, which shows the boy studying happily among his schoolmates, as well as in the unusual depiction of the lad receiving communion directly from the statue of the Virgin and Child on the altar. On the other hand, the text of the *cantiga* offers little foundation for the illustration's focus on the viciousness of the father's attack on his son and his own grisly demise. It merely reports crisply that:

Because of this great miracle, the Jewess came to believe, and the boy received baptism at once. The father, who had done the evil deed in his madness, was put to death in the same manner that he had tried to kill his son Abel.³⁷

A better understanding of the illustration's final scenes is offered by another Iberian telling of the Jewish Boy tale, that of the Riojan clergyman Gonzalo de Berceo (c. 1198–after 1252). Berceo's vernacular *Milagros de Nuestra Señora* were composed in the mid-thirteenth century in La Rioja and soon gained wide popularity throughout Christian Iberia.³⁸ Berceo's *milagro* reports a similar series of events to those in the Alfonsine *cantiga*, but it plays much more heavily on the father's diabolical character and the violence of his end. Berceo describes him as a "bedeviled man" (*diablado*), a "treacherous dog" (*can traïdor*), and a "mad sinner" (*locco peccador*) who made "evil faces like someone demon-possessed" (*fazié figuras malas como demoniado*) as he stoked the fire in his great furnace. The mother's reaction is nearly as mad: she cries out and claws herself so dramatically that she quickly attracts a crowd.³⁹ The boy's rescue reaches its climax not with the boy's conversion, but when the attribution of his rescue to the Virgin prompts the crowd to turn immediately

³⁶ Kathleen Kulp-Hill, *Songs of Holy Mary of Alfonso X, the Wise: A Translation of the Cantigas de Santa María* (Tempe, AZ, 2000), 6. For the Galician-Portuguese, see Mettmann, *Cantigas*, 11–14.

³⁷ Kulp-Hill, *Songs of Holy Mary*, 6–7.

³⁸ David A. Flory, "Berceo's *Milagros* and the *Cantigas de Santa María*: The question of intended audience," *Cantigueiros* 8 (1996): 15–28; and Annette Grant Cash, "Holy Mary intervenes for the clergy in the *Cantigas* of Alfonso X and in the *Milagros* of Berceo: Observations concerning the implicit audience," *Cantigueiros* 8 (1996): 3–13.

³⁹ For the Castilian, see Gonzalo de Berceo, *Obras completas II: Los milagros de Nuestra Señora*, ed. and trans. Brian Dutton (London, 1971), 125–8. Both here and following, translations are from Gonzalo de Berceo, *Miracles of Our Lady*, trans. Richard Terry Mount and Annette Grant Cash (Lexington, KY, 1997), 77–80.

to vengeance against the murderous father, whose ritualistic incineration goes on for three bloodthirsty stanzas:

They seized the Jew, the false disloyal one,
the one who had done such great wrong to his little son;
they tied his hands with a strong rope
and they cast him into the great fire.
In the time it would take for someone to count a few pennies,
he was turned into ashes and embers;
they did not say psalms or prayers for his soul,
rather they hurled insults and great curses.
They gave him dreadful rites; they made for him a vile offering:
instead of the *Pater Noster*, they said "as he did so may he receive."
From this *comunicanda* God defend us,
and let such terrible payment be with the devil.⁴⁰

The story ends with praises of the Virgin, without ever mentioning the boy's baptism.⁴¹

Both in its lingering account of the father's demise and its omission of the son's conversion, Berceo offers powerful parallels with the end of the *cantiga* illustration, suggesting the artists' awareness of, and preference for, Berceo's more violent ending.⁴² The artists' willingness to abandon the narrative thread of the Alfonsine text at this point is not surprising in itself: as one of the earliest tales to join the collection, around 1260, the Jewish Boy *cantiga* had been completed more than a decade, possibly two, prior to the production of its illustration—a distance that surely facilitated an independent approach.⁴³ Moreover, their willingness to depart from the original narrative must have been further encouraged by their sensitivity to social factors well beyond the scope of the text. These concerns, centering on the place of Jews in Iberian society, had intensified sharply during the years between the composition of the *cantiga* and its subsequent illustration.

The final decades of the thirteenth century in Castile witnessed an increasingly evident effort on the part of Christian religious and political leaders to reconceptualize social relations between Christians and Jews as the kingdom expanded rapidly into the formerly Muslim lands of southern Iberia.

⁴⁰ Gonzalo de Berceo, *Miracles of Our Lady*, 79.

⁴¹ Francisco Prado correctly observes that the baptism scene may be dispensable here because the boy's emergence from the oven serves effectively to signal his rebirth; see Francisco Prado-Vilar, "Iudeus sacer: life, law, and identity in the 'state of exception' called 'Marian miracle,'" in Herbert Kessler and David Nirenberg, eds., *Judaism and Christian Art: Aesthetic Anxieties from the Catacombs to Colonialism* (Philadelphia, 2011), 115-142, esp. 129.

⁴² The similarity to Berceo's ending has also been noted by Connie S. Scarborough, "Verbalization and visualization in MS T.j.I of the *Cantigas de Santa María*" (PhD dissertation, University of Kentucky, 1983), 38.

⁴³ Patton, "Constructing the inimical Jew," 252.

The successes of the thirteenth-century Reconquest had rendered Iberia's Jews both financially and administratively indispensable. At the same time, ecclesiastical pressures and an increasingly European cultural orientation had begun to harden once-casual attitudes toward the interaction of Christians with the religious minorities with whom they had long shared social space. Like other Iberian rulers, Alfonso X himself began to take more seriously long-ignored papal legislation aimed at restricting social contact between Christians and Jews by imposing distinctive dress, regulating interfaith commerce more tightly, and increasingly restricting the urban spaces in which Jews were permitted to move and live.⁴⁴

The most innovative features of the illustration in the *Cantigas de Santa María* must be understood as responding to precisely this desire to explore and delineate boundaries between those of different faiths. This is expressed most in the adoption of a formulaic physiognomic caricature for the Jewish boy's father and, more variably, for the boy himself. The hooded cloak worn by the Jewish boy performs a similar, but more locally resonant function: such cloaks, worn voluntarily by Iberian Jews for centuries, had begun to figure centrally in current controversies over the imposition of distinguishing dress for Iberian Jews. Spain's Christian kings had for decades ignored or evaded the Fourth Lateran Council regulation of 1215 that Jews wear a badge, hat, or other distinguishing sign when in public;⁴⁵ but in the late thirteenth century, as laws came more frequently to be enforced, the hooded cloak often became the garment of choice.⁴⁶ Together, the Iberian cloak and the imported facial stereotype offered a powerful new idiom by which religious difference could be signaled.

New Castilian concerns about Jewish violence offered another factor that might have shaped the *cantiga* illustration. Fears of such violence against Christian children in particular had expanded significantly in Western Europe since the first claim of ritual murder of a local child was leveled in Norwich in 1144, and copycat claims soon proliferated elsewhere.⁴⁷ By the

⁴⁴ See esp. Jonathan Ray, *The Sephardic Frontier: The Reconquista and the Jewish Community in Medieval Iberia* (Ithaca, NY, 2006); Yom Tov Assis, *The Golden Age of Spanish Jewry: Community and Society in the Crown of Aragon, 1213–1327* (London, 1997).

⁴⁵ In 1219, Ferdinand III received papal permission for exemption from this rule; Robert Chazan (ed.), *Church, State, and Jew in the Middle Ages* (New York, 1980), 179–80. Alfonso X later endorsed the papal requirement in his great law code, the *Siete Partidas*. Persistent complaints of noncompliance, such as those raised by the Cortes of Palencia (1313) and Toro (1371), suggest that it was not regularly enforced. See David Nirenberg, "Sex and segregation: Jews and Christians in medieval Spain," *American Historical Review* 107/4 (2002), 1065–93, esp. 1081, n. 54.

⁴⁶ See Assis, *Golden Age of Spanish Jewry*, 283–85; Rosa María Alcoy i Pedros, "Canvis i oscil·lacions en la imatge pictòrica dels jueus a la Catalunya del segle XIV," in *Actes del primer col·loqui d'història dels jueus a la corona d'Aragó* (Lléida, 1991), 371–92, esp. 373; Enrique Cantera Montenegro, *Aspectos de la vida cotidiana de los judíos en la España medieval* (Madrid, 1998), 132–6; and Ray, *The Sephardic Frontier*, 156–8.

⁴⁷ See Gavin I. Langmuir, "Historiographic Crucifixion," in Gilbert Dahan (ed.), *Les Juifs au regard de l'histoire* (Paris, 1985), 109–27; John M. McCulloch, "Jewish ritual murder:

end of the twelfth century, similar charges had appeared in France, Germany, and Bohemia, and by the end of the thirteenth, despite a papal interdict, they had tripled in number.⁴⁸ Although such claims never reached the heights in Iberia that they did in northern Europe, Castilians were not unaware of them. The first documented charges of ritual murder in Iberia were recorded in 1294, when the Jewish communities of Zaragoza and Biel were accused separately in the deaths of local children.⁴⁹ Still earlier mention of such claims, if in characteristically skeptical terms, can be found in an oft-quoted passage of Alfonso X's own great law code, *Las Siete Partidas*.⁵⁰ Although this hardly constitutes evidence that such claims had gained local traction, it does suggest that they had been heard even by Castilians who might never directly have encountered them. It is easy to see how such awareness might have shaped the devilish physiognomy and spasmodic gestures that invest the *cantiga*'s Jewish father with such malevolence, or the decision to close the narrative with a scene of the crowd's near-cathartic involvement in his grisly execution. The artists' changes to the visual tradition of the Jewish Boy narrative must be recognized as a response to the rapidly transforming social realities within which they lived and worked.

With its long roots and richly layered history, the Jewish Boy narrative offered an ideal prism for such broad-ranging social concerns. From its first incarnation in Byzantium, its central conflict rested on the problems posed by the social permeability so often found in regions where religious communities rub shoulders. In Evagrius' Greek tale, it was the openness of his Christian schoolmates that permitted the Jewish boy to join them in accepting bread from the church; in the Latin version, it was this same lack of boundaries that

William of Norwich, Thomas of Monmouth, and the early dissemination of the myth," *Speculum* 72/3 (1997): 698–740. The trajectory of this charge in Spain is more complex; see Patton, *Art of Estrangement*, 62–3.

⁴⁸ Gavin I. Langmuir, "L'absence d'accusation de meurtre rituel a l'ouest du Rhone," in *Juifs et judaïsme de Languedoc, XIIIe siècle-début XIVe siècle*, ed. Marie-Humbert Vicaire and Bernhard Blumenkranz (Toulouse, 1977), 235–49, esp. 235–42; Ronnie Po-Chia Hsia, *The Myth of Ritual Murder: Jews and Magic in Reformation Germany* (New Haven, CT, 1988), 2–3.

⁴⁹ See Fritz [Yitzhak] Baer, *A History of the Jews in Christian Spain*, trans. Louis Schoffman (2 vols, Philadelphia, 1961–66; repr. 1992), II: 6–7. See also Langmuir, "L'absence d'accusation"; Sor Maria Despina, "Las acusaciones de Crimen Ritual en España," *El Olivo* 9 (1979): 48–70. On the Jewish response to such concerns, see Elena Lourie, "A plot which failed? The case of the corpse found in the Jewish call of Barcelona," *Mediterranean Historical Review* 1 (1986): 187–220.

⁵⁰ "And because we heard that in some places the Jews reenacted derisively—and continue to do so—on Good Friday the Passion of Our Lord Jesus Christ, stealing children and putting them on a cross, or forming waxen images and crucifying them when children are unavailable, we order that if we discover from this time forward that such a thing has occurred in any part of our kingdom, and if it can be determined, then all those involved shall be seized, arrested, and brought before the king. And as soon as he has determined the truth of the matter, he shall order the guilty parties to be mercilessly put to death." Dwayne E. Carpenter, *Alfonso X and the Jews: An Edition of and Commentary on Siete Partidas* 7.24 "De los judíos" (Berkeley, CA, 1986), 29.

enabled him to enter the church himself. It was the very accessibility of the liturgy and its substances—an accessibility recognized and then assiduously legislated from the thirteenth century onward—that then motivated him to trespass further by accepting communion. Finally, it was his father’s shrewd awareness of the dangers posed by such transgression that drove him to his deadly act.

What Iberianists might call the *convivencia* at the heart of the Jewish Boy narrative—the “living togetherness” that prompted its transgressions, its confrontations, and their resolutions—thus reveals itself not to be particularly Castilian or even particularly Iberian. Instead, it constitutes part of the continually transformative process of cultural contact, conflict, and exchange that drove change throughout the medieval world. The dynamics of this process mattered as much to Evagrius, to Gregory of Tours, and to Gautier de Coincy as they did to Alfonso X or to his artists precisely because they underlay the particular conflicts that mattered most to each. Thus, while the *cantiga* illustration reveals much about what likely will continue to be labeled *convivencia* in medieval Castile, its links to this broader phenomenon should not be forgotten. In its peregrination from Byzantium to Spain, the Jewish Boy tale testifies to this, just as it testifies more broadly to the power of a good story. Transcending language, genre, and format, it offered each of its medieval recipients a choice lens through which to scrutinize the peculiarities of his or her own world.

PART II

INTENT AND RECEPTION

Stamp of Power: The Life and Afterlife of Pulcheria's Buildings

Diliana Angelova

In 413, at the age of 14, Pulcheria (b. 399–453, Augusta 414), eldest daughter of the emperor Arcadius and the empress Eudoxia, took a solemn vow of virginity.¹ The Augusta (empress) kept the vow all of her life, including her three years of marriage to the emperor Marcian (r. 450–53). Unsurprisingly, the historical sources on the virgin empress portray a life governed by religious devotion. She emerges from the sources as a nun-like figure, modest in deportment and passionate about orthodoxy.² Under Pulcheria's influence, the court of her brother, the emperor Theodosius II, allegedly resembled a monastery with its daily life organized around prayer and the singing of hymns.³ The empress endeavored to set the tone in church matters as well. She was deeply invested in the theological debates concerning the role of the Virgin Mary in the nature of Christ. In the late twenties and early thirties of the fifth century, the Augusta championed the notion that the Virgin Mary

¹ Brian Croke, *The Chronicle of Marcellinus. A Translation and Commentary*, ed. Pauline Allen, Byzantina Australiensia (Sydney: Australian Association for Byzantine Studies, 1995) [hereafter Marcellinus Comes], s.a. 399, p. 7 (born), s.a. 414, p. 11 (Augusta). For Pulcheria's life, see Kenneth G. Holm, *Theodosian Emperresses: Women and Imperial Dominion in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982), pp. 90–111; Christine Angelidi, *Pulcheria: La castità al potere*, ed. Gaetano Passerelli, trans. Daniela Serman, *Donne d'Oriente e d'Occidente* (Milan: Jaca Book, 1998), 14–36. All dates follow A.P. Kazhdan, ed., *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991) [hereafter ODB].

² For Pulcheria's piety, see Edward Walford, *Sozomen, History of the Church, from A.D. 324 to A.D. 440, and Philostorgius, Ecclesiastical History, As Epitomized by Photius* (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1855) [hereafter Soz.], 9.1–3; Theodoret and Evagrius, *A History of the Church, From A.D. 322 to the Death of Theodore of Mopsuestia, A.D. 427, by Theodoret, Bishop of Cyrus, and from A.D. 431 to A.D. 594, by Evagrius*, Bohn's Ecclesiastical Library (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1854) [hereafter Theodoret], 5.36; Socrates, "Church history from A.D. 323–425," in *A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, ed. Philip Schaff and Henry Wace (Edinburgh and Grand Rapids, MI: T&T Clark and Eerdmans, 1989) [hereafter Soc.], 7.22.

³ Soc 7.22.

was the Theotokos, the God-bearer.⁴ Two decades later, the empress assumed a prominent role organizing the Ecumenical Council of Chalcedon, the council which included the Theotokos appellation for the Virgin in the creed of the Christian Church (451).⁵ In recognition of Pulcheria's contributions, the assembled bishops acclaimed her the "light of Orthodoxy" and "the protectress of faith."⁶

In the decades and centuries after the empress's death, Pulcheria's exceptional piety and Marian-like virginity came to dominate the public memory of her life, overshadowing all else—including her prodigious building activities. The task of this essay is to recover, to the extent that is possible, the scope and original significance of Pulcheria's buildings: their type, location, and connections with the urban fabric. In so doing, I will argue that Pulcheria's building program in Constantinople had more to do with politics than piety. Despite the message we find in so many of the sources, her first priority in creating a public image was to delineate her imperial rank, not trumpet a special kind of piety.

To separate legend from history, one must begin with the textual sources (Table 4.1).⁷ The most relevant texts on Pulcheria's buildings are widely separated through time, dating from the fifth through the tenth centuries. The Constantinopolitan buildings that these varied sources attribute to Pulcheria include two residences of the *domus* type; a cistern; the church of St. Lawrence; the churches of Mary in the Blachernae, the Hodegoi, and the Chalkoprateia; St. Stephen in the palace; an undefined number of monasteries; a cemetery; and various charitable institutions.

⁴ For this conflict, see Holum, *Empresses*, pp. 147–74.

⁵ Richard Price and Michael Gaddis, *The Acts of the Council of Chalcedon*, ed. Sebastian Brock et al., 3 vols (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2005), p. 183 (date), pp. 202–5 (creed).

⁶ Trans. Holum, *Empresses*, p. 215.

⁷ This is a table of the sources up to the tenth century. The editions used are listed below. To access many of them I've used the Thesaurus Linguae Graecae online digital library of Greek literature. *Notitia*: Otto Seeck, "Notitia urbis Constantinopolitanae," in *Notitia dignitatum; accedunt Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae et latercula provinciarum* (Frankfurt: Minerva, 1962; reprint, 1876); Theophanes Confessor: C. De Boor, *Chronographia* (Leipzig, 1883); Theophanes Continuatus: I. Bekker, *Theophanes Continuatus, Ioannes Cameniata, Symeon Magister, Georgius Monachus* (*Corpus scriptorum historiae Byzantinae* (Bonn, 1838). Chron. Pasch.: Ludwig Dindorf, *Chronicon Paschale* (Bonn: Weber, 1832); Theod. Lect., *Epitome historiae tripartitae* and *Historia ecclesiastica* in Theodore Anagnostes, *Kirchengeschichte*, ed. Christian Hansen, CCS (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1971), Theodore summarizes Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret of Cyrrhus; Soz.: Günther Christian Hansen, *Historia ecclesiastica = Kirchengeschichte*, vol. 73/1–4, *Fontes Christiani* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004); John of Damascus, *Oratio secunda in dormitionem sanctae Dei genetricis Mariae* in P.B. Kotter, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos, Patristische Texte und Studien*, no. 29 (Berlin and New York: De Gruyter, 1988), 5: 516–540; *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae, Synaxarium mensis Julii*, in H. Delehaye, *Acta Sanctorum* 62, Brussels, 1902 (repr. Wetteren, Belgium: Imprimerie Cultura, 1985): 791–858; Constantine Porphyrogenetos, *De virtutibus et vitiis*, T. Büttner-Wobst and A.G. Roos, *Excerpta historica iussu imp. Constantini Porphyrogeniti confecta*, vol. 2: *excerpta de virtutibus et vitiis*, pts. 1 & 2. (Berlin: Weidmann, 1906).

Table 4.1 Pulcheria's buildings

Building	Location	Source	Date of source/s	Date of structure/s if specified in the sources
Domus of Pulcheria Augusta	Regio III	Notitia	425–30	—
Domus of Pulcheria Augusta	Regio XI	<i>Notitia</i>	425–30	—
Cistern of Pulcheria Augusta	Not specified	<i>Chron. Pasch.</i> s.a. 421	c. 630	421
Church of the martyr Lawrence	Pulcherianai	Theod. Lect., <i>Historia ecclesiastica</i> , 1.363; Marcellinus Comes, <i>Chronicle</i> , s.a. 453, p. 21; Theophanes, <i>Chronographia</i> , p. 106	6th c. 6th c. 9th c.	453
Blachernae church	Blachernae (Regio XIV)	John of Damascus, <i>Oratio secunda in dormitionem sanctae Dei genetricis Mariae</i> , 18; Theophanes, <i>Chronographia</i> , p. 105 <i>Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopoleos</i> , <i>Synaxarium mensis Iulii</i> , day 2, 2.15.	8th c. 9th c. 10 th c.	—*
The churches in the Blachernae, Chalkoprateia, and the Hodegon dedicated to the Virgin Mary	Blachernae (Regio XIV); Hodegon (Regio II); Chalkoprateia (Regio IV)	Theod. Lect., <i>Historia ecclesiastica</i> , 1.363	6th c.	—
St. Stephen in the palace	The Great Palace (Regio I)	Theophanes, <i>Chronographia</i> , p. 86	9th c.	—
Many houses of prayer; many poor-houses, hostels, and monastic communities	—	Sozomen, 9.1.10	5th c.	—
Numerous churches, poor-houses, hostels, and monasteries	—	Theod. Lect., <i>Epitome historiae tripartitae</i> , 4.302	6th c.	—
Numerous churches dedicated to Christ	—	John of Damascus, <i>Oratio secunda</i> , 18; Theophanes, <i>Chronographia</i> , p. 105	8th c. 9th c.	—
Numerous houses of prayer, poor-houses, hostels, cemeteries for strangers, and monasteries	—	Theophanes, <i>Chronographia</i> , p. 106; Constantine Porphyrogenetos, <i>De virtutibus et vitiis</i> , 1: p. 153	9th c. 10th c.	—

Table 4.1 Continued

Building	Location	Source	Date of source/s	Date of structure/s if specified in the sources
Numerous churches, poor-houses, hostels, hospitals, alms-houses for the aged, and monasteries	—	Theophanes Continuatus, <i>Chronographia</i> , p. 339	10th c.	—

Note: * On the dating of the Blachernae and the other Marian churches, see Cyril A. Mango, "The origins of the Blachernae shrine at Constantinople," in *Radovi: Acta XIII Congressus Internationalis Archaeologiae Christianae* (Split and Vatican City: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 1998), 2: 61–76; Mango, "Constantinople as Theotokoupolis," in *Mother of God: Representations of the Virgin in Byzantine Art*, ed. Maria Vassilaki (Milan: Skira, 2000), 17–26.

The emphases of these texts change gradually but decisively over time. References to Pulcheria's imperial residences are found only in the fifth-century *Notitia urbis Constantinopolitanae*, a reliable, semi-official registry of the buildings in Constantinople, dated circa 425–30.⁸ The cistern is also mentioned once. The *Chronicon Paschale*, a seventh-century chronicle and likewise reliable, dedicates to it a short entry. No extant source after the 600s mentions Pulcheria's secular constructions, though the sources for the *Chronicon* were known to later historians.⁹

While the churches attributed to Pulcheria appear in several sources, it is telling that interest in her pious buildings accelerates dramatically after her death. She increasingly appears as a patron of numerous churches and charitable institutions, but the attributions vary widely (see Table 4.1). Some scholars have noted the peculiarity of the historical record in regard to Pulcheria's buildings, and have rightly concluded that it reflects the priorities and desires of later centuries.¹⁰ John Wortley has demonstrated the lack of

⁸ For the date, see *ODB*, s.v. "Notitia urbis Constantinopolitanae," 3: p. 1496. For the edition, see below. The work is now translated into English. See, John Matthews, "The *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae*," in Lucy Grig and Gavin Kelly, eds., *Two Romes: Rome and Constantinople in Late Antiquity* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 81–115.

⁹ On the relationship between the *Chronicon* and Theophanes, see Cyril Mango and Roger Scott, trans. with commentary, *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), p. lxxx. They must have used a common source.

¹⁰ John Wortley, "The Trier ivory reconsidered," *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 4, no. 21 (1980): pp. 381–94. This is in response to Kenneth Holum and Gary Vikan, "The Trier ivory, *Adventus* ceremonial and the relics of St. Stephen," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 33(1979): pp. 115–33. For the Marian relics, see John Wortley, "The Marian relics of Constantinople," *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 45(2005): pp. 171–87; Annemarie Weyl Carr, "Threads

historicity in Pulcheria's association with the translation of St. Stephen in 421. The attribution to Pulcheria of St. Stephen in the palace likewise lacks support in the historical record. Indeed, the first mention of Pulcheria commissioning St. Stephen in the palace is found in the chronicle of Theophanes the Confessor (ca. 760–817/18). Cyril Mango convincingly dismissed another embellishment of Pulcheria's record of buildings—her patronage of the most important Marian churches in Constantinople—arguing that this attribution was a later invention.¹¹ His conclusion finds support in the sources. The earliest attribution of a Marian church to the empress dates to the sixth century, and appears in the writings of Theodore Lector (d. after 527). Given Wortley's and Mango's findings, it seems entirely plausible that the charitable institutions were likewise unhistorical, products of the Byzantines mythologizing a greatly pious empress.¹²

The process of myth-making likely began in Pulcheria's lifetime with the church historian Sozomen (first half of the fifth century). Alone of her contemporaries, he mentions that the empress was responsible for the establishment of "many houses of prayer," "poor-houses" and "monastic communities."¹³ But he does not provide any details. Indeed, he raises suspicions, in that he follows the list of Pulcheria's charities with an invitation to anyone who doubts his claims to check the records of the stewards of her household. If indeed there were so many of these charities to Pulcheria's name, why would anyone need to audit her records? By contrast, Pulcheria's other contemporaries, the church historians Socrates (ca. 380–after 439) and Theodoret of Cyrrhus (ca. 393–466), praise Pulcheria's piety but say nothing about the religious buildings to her name that so preoccupied Sozomen and later sources.¹⁴ Like Sozomen, Theodore, Theophanes, and the emperor Constantine Porphyrogennetos (r. 945–59) attribute numerous charities to the empress, but omit any reference to individual buildings and locations. We may conclude that the only church that can be confidently attributed to Pulcheria is that dedicated to St. Lawrence.

There appears, therefore, a striking discrepancy in the textual sources between Pulcheria's actual building activity and its afterlife in the Byzantine

of authority: The Virgin Mary's veil in the Middle Ages," in *Robes and Honor: The Medieval World of Investiture*, ed. Stewart Gordon (New York: Palgrave, 2001), pp. 59–94. Also, Cyril A. Mango, "The origins of the Blachernae shrine at Constantinople," in *Radovi: Acta XIII Congressus Internationalis Archaeologiae Christianae* (Split and Vatican City: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 1998), pp. 61–76; Mango, "Constantinople as Theotokoupolis," in *Mother of God: Representations of the Virgin in Byzantine Art*, ed. Maria Vassilaki (Milan: Skira, 2000), pp. 17–26.

¹¹ But see doubts raised in Stephen Shoemaker, "The Cult of the Virgin in the Fourth Century: A Fresh Look at Some Old and New Sources" in Chris Maunder, ed., *The Origins of the Cult of the Virgin Mary*, 72.

¹² For Pulcheria the legend, see Angelidi, *Pulcheria*, 113–39.

¹³ Soz. 9.1.

¹⁴ See above.

imagination. By the Middle Byzantine period, Pulcheria's secular buildings had been all but forgotten. The era's authors seemingly preferred to concentrate on her religious commissions, commissions that they describe with less specificity as time goes by. This discrepancy between the historical Pulcheria and the afterlife of her public image continues to this day. The traditional view of the empress as exceptionally pious, a view partly grounded in history but embellished by later Byzantines still prevails in scholarship.¹⁵ The emphasis on piety has obscured Pulcheria's worldly influence. However obvious, and indeed necessary, Pulcheria's Christian piety was to her *imperium* (imperial power), the public persona that she created for herself must be situated within a fifth-century imperial power discourse. Imperial buildings formed a significant part of this discourse. Like other empresses and emperors, Pulcheria used her buildings to define urban space in ways that underscored her imperial rank in both symbolic and practical terms.¹⁶ And no structure provided a better model for the link between building and public power than the foremost token of the *imperium*, the Great Palace itself.

Pulcheria's buildings have not survived, and the project of reconstructing their location is fraught with difficulties. We cannot know for certain what they looked like, how large they were, where they were located, or exactly how many she built. None of these structures can be located with precision. In the context of our knowledge for Constantinople's topography, the evidence for Pulcheria's buildings is unexceptional in that there is very little to work with. In Rome large numbers of ancient buildings and monuments have been excavated, including the imperial palace, a number of imperial baths, squares, temples, and streets. Indeed, today parts of these buildings remain standing amidst the modern metropolis. In contrast, the vast majority of late antique Constantinople lies buried under Istanbul. The two largest categories of extant Byzantine buildings are churches and cisterns.¹⁷ The locations of

¹⁵ The dominant view, proposed by Kenneth Holum in a landmark study on the Theodosian empresses holds that the empress's piety defined her *basileia* [imperial power]. Holum notes that Pulcheria's virginity, associations with holy relics, and "godly resolve" marked a break with how women traditionally expressed their right to imperial dominion. Holum, *Empresses*, p. 93, pp. 98–111. In a more recent book, Christine Angelidi takes a similar position by emphasizing the Augusta's virginity and pious actions and defining her worldly dominion as "la castità al potere" [the chastity of power]. The monastic dimensions of Pulcheria's piety, following Socrates and Sozomen, is found in Angelidi, *Pulcheria*, 87–112, esp. 87–9. Angelidi omits Holum in her analysis.

¹⁶ Spiro Kostof, *The City Shaped: Urban Patterns and Meanings Through History* 2nd ed. (Boston: Little, Brown, 1991), p. 52; Spiro Kostof, *A History of Architecture: Settings and Rituals; Revisions by Greg Castillo, Original Drawings by Richard Tobias*, 2nd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), p. 7.

¹⁷ Many of the former still exist because they were converted into mosques. The latter have survived because reservoirs remained crucial for the water supply of the city well into the Ottoman period. For instance, a cistern that some scholars identify as the one of Pulcheria was operational until the twentieth century. This cistern is located near Sivaslitekesi, in the north-west part of the city, close to the Golden Horn; see Raymond Janin,

a few other important landmarks are known, but very little survives of the original monuments and their urban context. We know the site for the main hippodrome. Some of the original decoration of its spina still stands.¹⁸ But of the adjacent Great Palace, only a courtyard with extensive floor mosaics remains.¹⁹ We have textual evidence for numerous late antique palaces. However, we know something of the architecture of only two, those identified as the palace of Antiochos and the palace of Lausos.²⁰ Only a few sub-structural remains survive from the numerous baths of early Byzantine Constantinople.²¹ Monuments located on the major thoroughfares have fared better; in a few cases we know their exact locations.²² These landmarks can sometimes help situate other monuments and buildings more precisely, but many challenges remain. Most investigations into Constantinople's topography have to admit a degree of conjecture that makes iron-clad conclusions all but impossible.²³

In reconstructing Pulcheria's buildings as part of Constantinople's urban fabric, I suggest that a dominant pattern of urban growth can help explain the location of buildings. The pattern that emerges from the textual evidence allows us to see the city's early Byzantine growth as centered on palaces. This pattern makes it possible to trace integral connections between structures that have been missed in previous investigations. Relying on a pattern in the absence of sufficient evidence means that some of the present conclusions about Pulcheria's patronage remain more speculative than others. Nevertheless, considering Pulcheria's buildings as being integral parts of an urban fabric—rather than individual buildings—has advantages over thinking about them in isolation.

Constantinople byzantine: développement urbain et répertoire topographique, 2nd ed., Archives de l'Orient chrétien, 4 A (Paris: Institut français d'études byzantines, 1964), p. 210.

¹⁸ Wolfgang Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexicon zur Topographie Istanbuls* (Tübingen: Ernst Wasmuth, 1977), pp. 64–71.

¹⁹ On the Great Palace, see below.

²⁰ For those, see Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexicon*, p. 125, p. 238; Cyril A. Mango, "The development of Constantinople as an urban centre," in *Studies on Constantinople* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1993), pp. 127–28. For arguments questioning the identification of the archaeological remains considered to have belonged to these palaces, see Jonathan Bardill, "The palace of Lausos and nearby monuments in Constantinople: A topographic study," *American Journal of Archaeology* 101, no. 1 (1997): pp. 67–95.

²¹ Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexicon*, pp. 48–51. There are numerous baths recorded in the *Notitia*. These include eight *thermae*, and 153 private *balnea*. Magdalino's reconstruction of the bath of Leo is entirely based on textual evidence. See Paul Magdalino, "The bath of Leo the Wise," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 42 (1988): pp. 97–118.

²² These include the column of Constantine, the Forum of Theodosius, the column of Arcadius, and the column of Marcian. Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexicon*, pp. 250–65, pp. 54–55 (Marcian).

²³ See, for instance, the debate on the translation of the relic of St. Stephen and the church in Constantinople, in which those relics were deposited. Was it a real event that occurred in Constantinople or was it a later invention? On this, see Holum and Vikan, "Trier ivory," pp. 115–33. and Wortley, "Trier ivory," pp. 381–94.

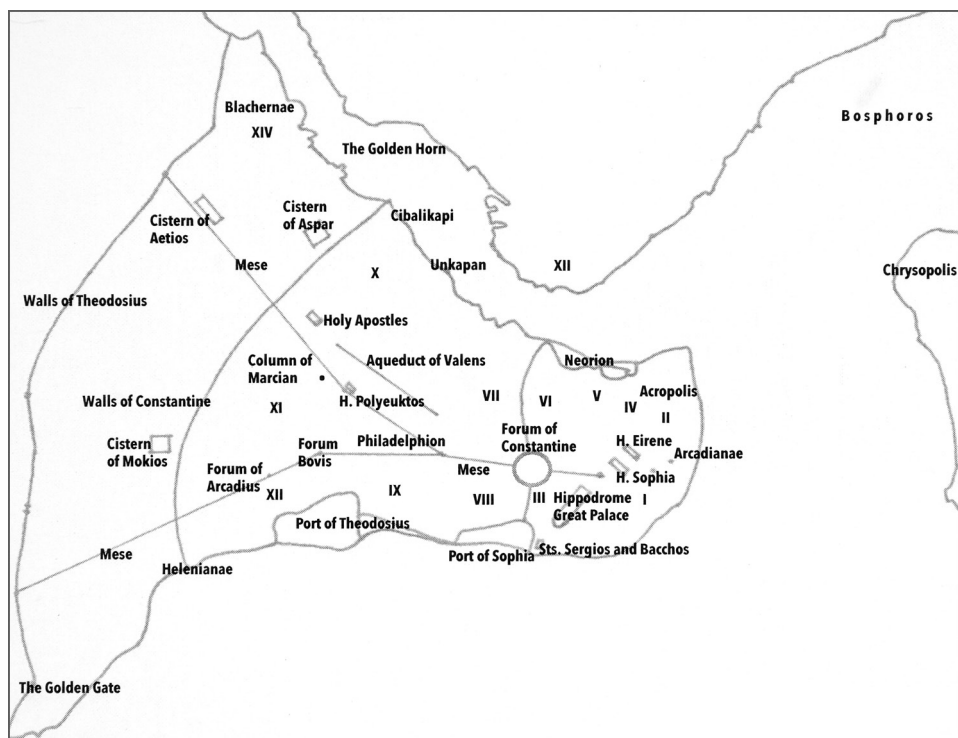


Fig. 4.1 Map of Constantinople, 300–600.

To understand how Pulcheria's buildings related to the urban texture, we need to consider first the appropriate map onto which her buildings should be plotted. The map in this case must be the one that follows the fifth-century administrative division of Constantinople. We know about this division from the *Notitia urbis Constantinopolitanae* (Figure 4.1).²⁴ According to this document, Constantinople was separated administratively in 14 districts, or *Regiones*. The *Notitia* includes a brief description of each *Regio* followed by a list of the buildings and the number of city officials responsible for the district. The individual inventories by *Regio* are followed by a summary count of all buildings in the city. Still it is clear that the *Notitia* thinks of the built environment as plotted onto the administrative division of Constantinople. In other words, it mattered to the compiler that buildings belonged to distinct *Regiones*. As the *Notitia* seems to have been compiled with imperial consent, thinking of the city in terms of *Regiones* should be considered when analyzing its imperial structures.²⁵

²⁴ Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexicon*, Abb. 2, p. 21.

²⁵ The document praises the emperor Theodosius II's renewal of the city. See, *Notitia*, p. 229.

When we plot Pulcheria's mansions and the church of St. Lawrence according to *Regiones*, the picture that emerges indicates that Pulcheria strove to spread her constructions over three of the city's 14 *Regiones*. Pulcheria's buildings were located in Regio III, X, and XI. The *Notitia* situates one of Pulcheria's mansions in Regio III, and the other in Regio XI. The exact location of both of these buildings is unknown. Regio III and Regio XI were not adjacent. Regio III enclosed the area from the Hippodrome south to the Sea of Marmara.²⁶ The centrally located Regio XI was the only land-bound district, and included the church of the Holy Apostles and the palace of Flaccilla.²⁷

St. Lawrence was built after the *Notitia* and so is not mentioned there. The church was completed in 453, approximately three decades after the *Notitia* was composed.²⁸ The church is recorded in the sixth-century chronicle of Marcellinus Comes as being of "of exquisite workmanship."²⁹ Marcellinus relates that in 439 Eudocia Augusta, Pulcheria's sister-in-law, placed relics of the protomartyr Stephen in St. Lawrence.³⁰ Theophanes Continuatus locates St. Lawrence in the Pulcherianai, a neighborhood named after Pulcheria.³¹ Two hypotheses exist for the location of the church and the neighborhood. One view locates it near the present Aşık Paşa Mescidi.³² The other opinion identifies it with a Byzantine structure near Aşık Paşa Mescidi.³³ According to the *Notitia*'s division of Constantinople, either of these hypotheses would put the church in Regio X, an area in the north-east overlooking the Golden Horn. The name of the neighborhood suggests that there may have been either a nearby imperial residence or that the neighborhood took its name after Pulcheria's church. Two examples associated with Pulcheria's younger sisters, Marina (403–49) and Arcadia (400–44), illustrate either possibility.³⁴ Neighborhoods were often named after the resident of the area's imperial mansion; the neighborhood around Marina's residence, for instance, was

²⁶ Ibid., p. 232, p. 238.

²⁷ For the residences in this Regio, see Paul Magdalino, "Aristocratic oikoi in the tenth and eleventh regions of Constantinople," in *Byzantine Constantinople: Monuments, Topography and Everyday Life*, ed. Nevra Necipoglu (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2001), pp. 53–69.

²⁸ Marcellinus Comes, s.a. 453, p. 21.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Ibid., s.a. 439, p. 17.

³¹ Theophanes Continuatus, p. 339. Procopius describes St. Lawrence as *epiprosthēn* [before] the Blachernae quarter. See, Procopius, "Buildings," in *The Works of Procopius*, trans. H.B. Dewing (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1962) [hereafter Procop. *Aed.*, Procop. *Hist. Arc.*], 1.6.3, p. 61. See also discussion on the location in Albrecht Berger, *Untersuchungen zu den Patria Konstantinupoleos*, Poikila Byzantina, no. 8 (Bonn: Rudolf Habelt, 1988), #342. Berger does not address Müller-Wiener's findings.

³² Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexicon*, D4/3, p. 370.

³³ Ibid., D4/16. The distance is about 150 mm on the *Lageplan* of Müller-Wiener.

³⁴ J.R. Martindale, ed. *Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, 3 vols, vol. 2 and 3 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980–92) [hereafter *PLRE*], s.v. "Arcadia 1," 2: p. 129; *PLRE*, s.v. "Marina 1," 2: p. 723.

known as *ta Marinēs*.³⁵ Arcadia built a church dedicated to St. Andrew, called after her *ta Arkadias*, which doubled as the name of that neighborhood.³⁶ In his 1927 study of the Pulcherianai neighborhood, Jean Papadopoulos identified a wall as originally being part of Pulcheria's palace.³⁷ He situated this palace between the Cibalikapi and Unkapan kapi gates (Figure 4.1).³⁸ These ruins, if Papadopoulos is correct, could be attributed to one of three imperial residences listed in Regio X: the *domus* of Pulcheria's grandmother Galla Placidia Augusta (d. 450); the *domus* of Pulcheria's sister-in-law, Eudocia (left permanently for Jerusalem in 443); and the *domus* of Pulcheria's sister Arcadia.³⁹ Given the name of the neighborhood inside this Regio, I suggest that Pulcheria either built another *domus* there or, perhaps more likely, inherited one of three enumerated in the *Notitia*. Arcadia's death in 444 is early enough to have allowed for the neighborhood around Arcadia's mansion to be renamed Pulcherianai after Pulcheria took possession of the residence following her sister's death. Alternatively, the neighborhood could have been named to commemorate Pulcheria's sponsorship of St. Lawrence. Given that Pulcheria could have inherited one, the name of the neighborhood may have resulted from two buildings (a church and a palace) instead of one.

The *Notitia* makes no mention of a cistern of Pulcheria, although the *Chronicon Paschale* dates this cistern to the four years before the guide's composition. The chronicle reports that a cistern of Pulcheria was inaugurated in February of 421, during the consulship of Eustatius and Agricola.⁴⁰ Why would the *Notitia* not mention such an important structure?

³⁵ Janin, *Constantinople*, p. 385. On Marina's properties, see Holum, *Empresses*, pp. 131–2. For the argument that the bath in Marina's palace was restored by Leo VI, see Cyril A. Mango, "The palace of Marina, the poet palladas and the bath of Leo VI," in *Euprosynon: apheroma ston Manole Chatzedake, Demosieumata tou Archaiologikou Deltiou*, no. 46 (Athens: Ekdose tou Tameiou Archaiologikon Poron kai pallotriseon, 1991–92), pp. 321–30. For the bath of Leo VI, see Magdalino, "Bath of Leo," pp. 97–118.

³⁶ PLRE, s.v. "Arcadia 1," 2: 129; *hē de Arkadia ektise kai ton oikon tou agiou Andreou epiklēm ta Arkadias* (But Arcadia founded as well the church of St. Andreas called that of Arcadia.), *Chron. Pasch.*, p. 566; trans. Michael Whitby and Mary Whitby, *Chronicon Paschale 284–628 AD* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1989), p. 56; Janin, *Constantinople*, 312; Raymond Janin, *Les églises et les monastères* [hereafter *Egl. et mon.*] (Paris: Institut français d'études byzantines, 1953), p. 31.

³⁷ Jean Papadopoulos, "L'église de St. Laurent et les Pulchériana," *Studi bizantini* 2(1927): pp. 58–63.

³⁸ Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexicon*, p. 21, Abb. 2.

³⁹ *Notitia*, p. 238.

⁴⁰ "In the time of these consuls (Eustatius and Agricola) water was let into the cistern of the lady Pulcheria Augusta," *Chron. Pasch.* p. 578, trans. Whitby/Whitby, p. 68. A well-preserved underground water reservoir in the vicinity of Sivaslitekesi of present-day Istanbul has been identified as Pulcheria's cistern, but there is no other evidence for this besides its proximity to Pulcherianai. This cistern measures 29.10 m in length and 28 m in width. It has 28 columns and 40 domes covering it, each 8.5 m in diameter. See Janin, *Constantinople*, p. 210.

Perhaps it did, under a different name. Following the existing tradition of familial patronage of buildings, the empress may have finished a project started by another member of her family. The *Notitia* notes a cistern of Arcadius (*cisterna Arcadia*) and a cistern of Modestus (*cisterna Modestiaca*), both located in Regio XI.⁴¹ The first is associated with the emperor Arcadius, Pulcheria's father; the second with Domitius Modestus, a city prefect in 369.⁴² I suggest that the cistern of Arcadius and the cistern of Pulcheria may be one and the same structure—hence the absence from the *Notitia*. The father and daughter may have been responsible, respectively, for beginning and then finishing the construction of a single cistern. If so, the *Notitia* simply kept the name of the original builder, Arcadius. The use of the old name along with the new is not unusual.⁴³

The *Notitia* does not give any specifics about the location of the cisterns of Arcadius and Modestus, but it does list the cisterns in succession. This, in the context of the document's organizational logic, suggests physical proximity. Significantly, two Byzantine cisterns, located side by side, were uncovered in Regio XI (Figure 4.2).⁴⁴ These must have been vital to the water needs of this neighborhood. In addition to Pulcheria's *domus*, the *Notitia* counts 14 private baths, one *palatium*, 503 regular *domus*, four big porticoes, and four bakeries.⁴⁵ Like aqueducts, cisterns were essential for the baths. A cistern commissioned by Arcadius and completed by his daughter Pulcheria would have brought significant political capital to the builder as it surely made operational a number of public buildings in a populous and important neighborhood. In other words, the cistern of Pulcheria had tremendous public value. This kind of patronage created a web of linkages between buildings in a neighborhood; it was essential to the urban fabric.

It is with the urban fabric in mind that Pulcheria and her imperial contemporaries commissioned public or private buildings. Indeed, considering buildings in their urban context helps to identify other links between structures connections that delineate an organic whole. Such is the case with Pulcheria's palace in Regio IX, a mansion that I situate using as my guide the connections between existing structures and their association to Pulcheria. The two cisterns in Regio XI are situated approximately 80 m from the column of Marcian (Augustus 450–57), Pulcheria's husband.⁴⁶ The

⁴¹ *Notitia*, p. 238.

⁴² *PLRE*, s.v. "Domitius Modestus," 1: pp. 605–8; Janin, *Constantinople*, pp. 209–10.

⁴³ For instance, the Harbor of Sophia before its reconstruction in the 500s was known as that of Julian, after its original builder. *Chron. Pasch.* p. 700; *ibid.*, pp. 231–2, esp. p. 232.

⁴⁴ These are cisterns D 6/1 and D 6/3; see Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexicon*, p. 282.

⁴⁵ *Notitia*, pp. 238–9.

⁴⁶ Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexicon*, pp. 54–5. The measurement was taken from the Müller-Wiener *Lageplan* map with a ruler. The distance is from the closest cistern to the column was 8 mm, the equivalent of 80 m in a scale of 1:10,000. The distance between the cisterns is 20 m.

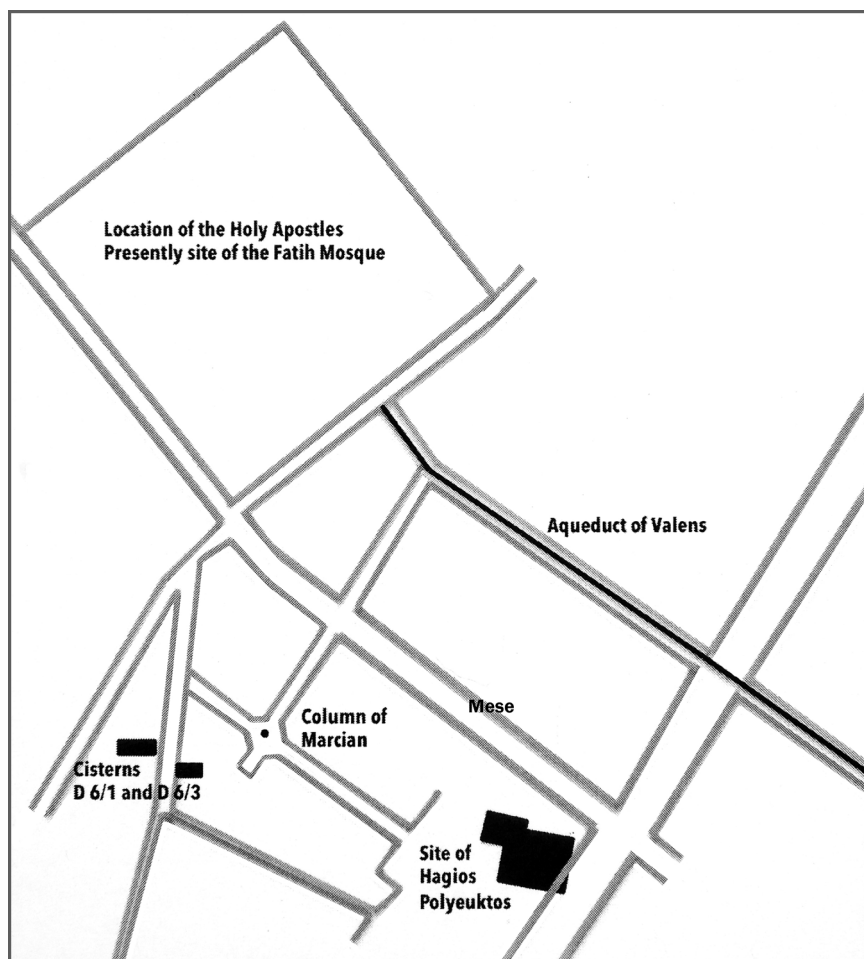


Fig. 4.2 Location of cisterns, the column of Marcian, St. Polyeuktos, and the Holy Apostles.

close distance between the cisterns and the column is significant. The prefect Tatianus dedicated the column with the statue of Marcian around 450–52, approximately 28–30 years after the dedication of Pulcheria’s suggested cistern. In antiquity commemorative statues were generally located close to structures associated with the honored individual. In Constantinople, this was the case with the column of Constantine, located in the Forum Constantini; with the column of Arcadius in the Forum Arcadii; and with statue of Justinian in front of his magnificent church, the Hagia Sophia.⁴⁷

⁴⁷ Ibid., pp. 255–7 (Constantine), pp. 50–51 (Arcadius). For Justinian’s statue, see Procop. *Aed.* 1.2.11–12, p. 35.

It may be suggested that the column was situated close to buildings significant to Marcian. For Marcian, a man of comparatively humble background, that likely meant buildings associated with his exalted wife Pulcheria. Without any imperial pedigree of his own, Marcian married into political legitimacy. It was in his interest to advertise his links with Pulcheria's august family. Tatianus, no doubt with Marcian's consent, placed the column in a location meant to capitalize on these connections. Previous examples of honorary columns suggest that the backdrop to Marcian's column was carefully selected. I propose that this backdrop was Pulcheria's palace in Regio XI.⁴⁸ The imperative to erect the monument near Pulcheria's palace would help explain the column's curious placement: whereas the columns and squares dedicated by previous emperors were strategically placed on the city's major arteries, Marcian's column stands south-west of the main thoroughfare (Figure 4.2).⁴⁹ This anomaly may be explained by the desire to relate the column, and possibly a square, to a preexisting structure or structures now buried beneath Istanbul.⁵⁰ Given Marcian's political circumstances, this complex of buildings surely belonged to his wife, the Augusta Pulcheria.

The argued link between Pulcheria's mansion, the two cisterns, and the column of Marcian receives indirect support from an analysis of the ways in which early Byzantine imperial residences affected urban growth. There were approximately 20 imperial residences in Constantinople between the fourth and the sixth centuries. In building a residence the imperial patron made a commitment to the entire neighborhood. These additional buildings linked organically the residence and the rest of the city. Therefore the logic of Pulcheria's well-spread two, and possibly three, mansions should be understood in light of a pattern of growth centered on palaces.⁵¹

Why palaces? Why was imperial patronage linked to palaces? The number and the distribution of these prompt the conclusion that the availability of land or clean air and views of the sea were not the primary motives in building an imperial residence, though obviously these factors remained attractive.⁵² The impetus for this seemingly peculiar pattern of urban growth must be sought in the example set by Constantine I (Augustus 306–37), the founder of

⁴⁸ For an example in which a dedicator (the Roman Senate) defined the location of the Arch of Constantine in respect to Rome's topography and existing structures, see Elizabeth Marlowe, "Framing the sun: The Arch of Constantine and the Roman cityscape," *Art Bulletin* 88, no. 2 (2006): pp. 223–42.

⁴⁹ See note 45 on the column of Constantine and the column of Arcadius.

⁵⁰ The present four streets that converge on the column suggest that there is likely to have been a square associated with it.

⁵¹ This discussion is based on my 2005 dissertation, *Gender and Imperial Authority in Rome and Early Byzantium, First to Sixth Centuries*, (Harvard University).

⁵² The view of the sea as desirable and subject of regulations, see Justinian, *Novellae* [Just. Nov.], 63; Catherine Saliou, *Le traité d'urbanisme de Julien d'Ascalon: Droite et architecture en Palestine au VIe siècle*, Travaux et Mémoires, no. 8 (Paris: De Boccard, 1996), 52.1–2.

Constantinople. Two of the areas the emperor developed featured an imperial residence. Constantine enlarged and embellished the area around the original imperial palace and the area near the Holy Apostles.⁵³ Constantine thus steered the direction of subsequent imperial building. His successors, eager to imitate him, repeated on a smaller scale the pattern of his urban development around these two palaces. Constantine's example explains in part why the Christian emperors and empresses prioritized their patronage in ways that differed from those of their pagan predecessors. In early Byzantine Constantinople, palaces became the preeminent statements of political and economic power. Whereas in Rome the grand imperial baths or squares remained markers for an emperor's magnanimity that succeeding Augusti strove to surpass, in fifth-century Constantinople emperors and empresses stated their authority and economic prowess most obviously through imperial residences. Baths and public squares were being built as well, but should be seen as secondary in priority. That scholars have not seen early Christian Constantinopolitan palaces as fundamental to the city's urban growth patterns can perhaps be attributed to the almost complete lack of archaeological data. Without physical proof of early Christian secular building in Constantinople, few have seen reason to investigate them on their own.⁵⁴ Yet, secular buildings did exist that one needs to keep in consideration when confronted with the heavy emphasis on pious buildings in the textual sources. Even so, the absence of material remains can be partially compensated for with a careful re-reading of those same textual sources.

The *Notitia*, in particular, is a source that rewards fresh analysis. As a document likely commissioned with imperial consent, it is the only textual source that presents an imperial view of the city's buildings. The *Notitia* identifies three types of imperial residences—a *palatium*, or palace; a *domus*, or mansion, of an Augusta; and a *domus* of a *nobilissima*, an imperial daughter who was not Augusta.⁵⁵ The document distinguishes between these three residences in its final section, a summary of all buildings which provides a count of all the buildings in the city by type. So it lists the number of palaces, baths, etc. It may be suggested that the arrangement of the buildings reveals something about their perceived importance in relation to other structures. Palaces (*palatia*) come first, churches second; Augustae's residences of the *domus* type are third. *Domus* of the *nobilissimae* are listed fourth. Baths are in

⁵³ On the Holy Apostles, see "Vita Constantini," in *Eusebius Werke*, CCS, ed. Ivar Heikel (Leipzig, 1902) [hereafter Euseb. VC] 4.58–60; trans. Averil Cameron and Stuart George Hall, *Eusebius: Life of Constantine* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999), pp. 144–5. The description does not include a palace, but see discussion below. On Constantine's activity in the new capital, see note 55.

⁵⁴ Important exceptions are: Slobodan Ćurčić, "Late-antique palaces: The meaning of urban context," *Ars Orientalis* 23(1993): pp. 67–90; Magdalino, "Oikoi," pp. 53–69. See also, Bardill, "Lausos," pp. 67–95.

⁵⁵ For the title, see *ODB*, s.v. "Nobelissimos," 3: pp. 1489–90.

fifth place, followed by basilicas. The hierarchy of this list, particularly the ordering of the mansions, is far from casual. I discern two dimensions to this ordering. It assigns greatest symbolic value to palaces. Putting palaces ahead of churches speaks to the imperial character of the city. At the same time, it may be suggested that this arrangement reflects the actual importance of palaces to the urban growth of the city. Early Byzantine imperial residences consisted of much more than a spacious mansion. They demanded a variety of public buildings to accommodate the needs of visitors and staff. A palace or other imperial residence became the focal point of a neighborhood and the initial *raison d'être* for additional structures, such as churches, permanent sources of water, and roads. And so this is one of the reasons that palaces and *domus* appear so high on the list.

The origins of this paradigm can be found in the Great Palace. It presented a paradigmatic template for the subsequent numerous imperial residences.⁵⁶ Three aspects of this paradigm are significant to consider: the type of buildings erected in and around the palace, its accessibility, and its staff and residents. Constantine built the Daphne palace; restored the nearby baths of Zeuxippos; completed and embellished the hippodrome; constructed the monumental Augustaion/Augusteum square on the east side of the palace; built the Senate house; and constructed the street that connected it with Constantine's circular forum.⁵⁷ Constantine or Constantius erected Hagia Sophia and Hagia Irene

⁵⁶ The archaeological evidence for the Great Palace—indeed for the 21 or so fifth- and sixth-century late antique imperial residences, including the Great Palace—is slim. This number includes the four *palatia* and eight imperial *domus* mentioned in the *Notitia*; the palace of Leo at St. Mamas, the palace at the Hebdomon, Blachernae palace, the two palaces named after Sophia, the palace at the Deuteron, Hieron's palace, the Helenianai palace, and the Great Palace. On these, see *Notitia*, pp. 230–41; Janin, *Constantinople*, pp. 107–22 (Great Palace), p. 34 (Sophia palace), p. 53 (the other Sophia palace), pp. 39–40 (Hebdomon), p. 41 (St. Mamas), pp. 48–50 (Hieron). On the Helenianai, see V. Tiftixoglu, "Die Helenianai nebst einigen anderen Besitzungen im Vorfeld des frühen Konstantinopel," in *Studien zur frühgeschichte Konstantinopels*, ed. Hans-Georg Beck (Munich: Institut für Byzantinistik und Neugriechische Philologie der Universität, 1973). For Blachernae palace, see Mango, "Blachernae." For the Great Palace, see: Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexicon*, pp. 229–37; David Talbot Rice (ed.), *The Great Palace of the Byzantine Emperors, Second Report* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1958). See also, the valuable summaries and discussion in Michael McCormick, "The Byzantine emperor and his court," in *Late Antiquity: Empire and Successors, A.D. 425–600*, ed. Averil Cameron, Bryan Ward-Perkins, and Michael Whitby, *The Cambridge Ancient History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 139–42; Jan Kostenec, "The heart of the empire: The Great Palace of the Byzantine emperors reconsidered," in *Secular Buildings and the Archaeology of Everyday Life in the Byzantine Empire*, ed. Ken Dark (Oxford: Oxbow, 2004), pp. 4–36. On the baths of Zeuxippos, see Sarah Guberti Bassett, "Historiae custos: Sculpture and tradition in the baths of Zeuxippos," *American Journal of Archaeology* 100, no. 3 (1996): 6–25; Sarah Bassett, *The Urban Image of Late Antique Constantinople* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 156–59 (Baths of Constantine); Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexicon*, 51–2.

⁵⁷ Euseb. VC 3.49 (on the palace), trans. Cameron/Hall, p. 140; John Malalas, *Chronographia*, pp. 320–21, trans. Elizabeth Jeffreys et al., *The Chronicle of John Malalas* (Melbourne: Australian Association for Byzantine Studies, 1986), pp. 173–4; *Chron. Pasch.* p. 528, trans. Whitby/Whitby, p. 16.

close to the palace.⁵⁸ In the centuries after Constantine, the Great Palace continued to grow. By the reign of the emperor Tiberius (578–82) the complex included at least two sets of apartments for the imperial family, barracks for the guards, a monumental gateway, a grand banquet hall, a throne room, shrines, one or more gardens, stables, and offices of various kinds.⁵⁹ The palatial complex also featured a covered hippodrome (*hippodromion*) for private chariot races.⁶⁰ The dimensions and locations of these buildings can be reconstructed only conjecturally. Textual evidence and archaeological remains suggest that most structures clustered around peristyle courtyards, on terraces overlooking the Sea of Marmara.⁶¹

Certain parts of the Great Palace in Constantinople were private, but many parts of the larger complex were public. Gardens, imperial apartments, baths, shrines, and the hippodrome inside the palace would have been used only by the imperial family and their select guests.⁶² The guards at the Chalke Gate and the barracks behind it carefully monitored the traffic into and out of the palace, ensuring its security and privacy. Still, a number of structures in the palace—including the halls of the administration, reception rooms, and dining rooms—would have had limited public access.⁶³ Moreover, the buildings

⁵⁸ On the churches dedicated by Constantine, see Euseb. VC 3.47, p. 103, 4.58–60, pp. 144–5 and Richard Krauthheimer, *Three Christian Capitals: Topography and Politics*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), p. 56 (only the Holy Apostles was completed). Hagia Sophia was dedicated in 360 by Constantius. Hagia Irene: Soc. 1.16; Holy Apostles: Soc. 1.16 (1: pp. 172–5), Soz. 2.34, 1: pp. 330–31.), Theod. Lect., 14.21; Archangel Michael: Soz. 2.3.10 (1: pp. 208–9); Theod. Lect. 14.21. Hagios Mokios: Theod. Lect. 14.21; *Scriptores originum Constantinopolitanarum*, ed. Theodor Preger (Lipsiae: Teubner, 1901) [hereafter *Patria*], 3.3; Timothy D. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1981), 222. Hagios Akakios: *Patria* 3.18—it is mentioned also in *Socrates scholasticus ecclesiastical history* [hereafter Soc.] 4.21, 6.23; Cyril A. Mango, *Le développement urbain de Constantinople, IV^e–VII^e siècles* (Paris: Diffusion de Boccard, 1985), pp. 35–36; Gilbert Dagron, ed. *Naissance d'une capitale: Constantinople et ses institutions de 330 à 451. Préface par Paul Lemerle*, Bibliothèque byzantine, no. 7 (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1974), pp. 388–9. Hagia Sophia is also attributed to him, but the attribution is late; see Theophanes, 23, trans. Mango/Scott, p. 37. Soc. 2.43 (2.228–9) gives the builder as Constantius (consecrated in 360 “in the 10th consulship of Constantius”). See also *Chron. Pasch.*, p. 544 (attributes foundations to Constantine, inauguration to Constantius) and discussion *ibid.*, 397–400; Krauthheimer, *Three Capitals*, p. 50, fig. 42; Janin, *Constantinople*, pp. 107–8.

⁵⁹ John of Ephesus, *The Third Part of the Ecclesiastical History of John, Bishop of Ephesus*, trans. R.P. Smith (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1860), 3.23, available online at http://www.tertullian.org/fathers/ephesus_1_book1.htm; Rice, *The Great Palace*; Cyril A. Mango, *The Brazen House: A Study of the Vestibule of the Imperial Palace of Constantinople* (Copenhagen: I kommission hos Munksgaard, 1959), p. 12.

⁶⁰ Albert Vogt, *Constantin VII Porphyrrogène: Le livre des cérémonies*, 4 vols (Paris: Belles Lettres, 1935), 1.37, vol. 1/2: p. 120. See also Kostenec, “Heart of empire,” pp. 11–13; Janin, *Constantinople*, p. 119; Berger, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 263–4.

⁶¹ On the remains see the map in Bardill, “Lausus,” fig. 2 (Bardill). The chief source for the Great Palace is the book of ceremonies, cited above.

⁶² On the emperor’s private apartments as a special place in the palace, see Euseb. VC 3.1. On a private garden and apartments, see John of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, 3.23. St. Stephen was used for imperial marriages. See, Vogt, *Le livre des cérémonies*, pp. 16–17.

⁶³ See summary in McCormick, “Byzantine emperor,” pp. 140–42.

around the palace were all public and were all connected to it. The emperor entered the hippodrome from the palace; the splendid baths of Zeuxippos featured a passage to the palace; the Augustaion was adjacent to the palace; and the church of Hagia Sophia stood across from it.⁶⁴ In other words, in the greater complex of the Great Palace there were public areas as well as private ones.⁶⁵ The crucial point here is that we should think of the Great Palace and other late antique imperial palaces as complexes, consisting of private as well as public buildings. Insofar as nearby public buildings outside the main gate were constructed by emperors, they ought to be considered extensions of the palace itself. In this category belong Hagia Sophia and Hagia Irene, the bath of Zeuxippos, the Augustaion, and the Hippodrome.

The palatial complex housed many people. These residents of the palace included the personal staff of the emperor and the empress, the state bureaucrats, and numerous other service personnel. Julian's (360–363) purging of the court famously targeted the obsolete personnel inherited from his predecessor Constantius. Although no doubt exaggerating, Libanios's description creates a vivid impression of the court's hustle and bustle: "There were a thousand cooks, as many barbers, and even more butlers. There were swarms of waiters, even more eunuchs than flies around cattle in springtime and a multitude of drones of every sort and kind."⁶⁶ The modest style Julian espoused was evidently short-lived. Not all of the 4,000 people in Theodora's (ca. 500–548) retinue, who accompanied her while traveling to the hot springs in Pythia (140 km from Constantinople), resided in the palace, but many would have.⁶⁷ The *Theodosian Codex* stipulates that the *palatini* always accompanied the emperor; the same was likely true for the empress.⁶⁸ The smaller bureaucracy and court at Ravenna is estimated at 1,500 people.⁶⁹

The evidence suggests that the pattern established with the Great Palace with respect to a pattern of buildings and to inhabitants applies to other imperial residences. One example is the area of the Holy Apostles, located a few kilometers north-west of the Great Palace. Eusebius provides the first

⁶⁴ For the porticoes of the Augustaion, see Procop. *Aed.* 1.10.5, p. 83, 1.10.10, p. 85; Mango, *Brazen House*, p. 46. On the passage between the Great Palace and the Zeuxippos baths, see *ibid.*, p. 40.

⁶⁵ For a different view, see Ćurčić, "Palaces," pp. 67–90.

⁶⁶ Libanios, *Oratio* 18, 139, trans. G.W. Bowersock, *Julian the Apostate* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1978), p. 72. See also, John Carew Rolfe, *Ammianus Marcellinus*, rev. ed. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1950), 22.3.10–12, 22.4.

⁶⁷ Malalas, 441, trans. Jeffreys, p. 256; also mentioned in Theophanes, p. 186, trans. Mango/Scott, p. 285. According to Theophanes, the patrician Helias, the *comes largitionum*, accompanied her.

⁶⁸ Th. Mommsen and P. Krueger, eds, *Codex Theodosianus*, 3 vols (Berlin: 1962) [hereafter *CTh*] 6.35–36; trans. Clyde Pharr, *The Theodosian Code and Novels and the Sirmondian Constitutions* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1952), pp. 151–4.

⁶⁹ McCormick, "Byzantine emperor," p. 140.

description of this area, as it was the place Constantine chose to build the church of the Holy Apostles, which contained his tomb.⁷⁰ Eusebius, who had visited the church and its surroundings, does not mention a palace.⁷¹ Yet his description is suggestive. The bishop notes that the shrine of the apostles was surrounded by “a spacious court (*aulē*) wide open to the fresh air, and round this quadrangle ran porticoes (*stoai*) which faced the middle of the court where the shrine stood, and imperial apartments (*oikoi basileioi*), baths (*tais stoais loutra*), and lampstores (*analamptēria*) extended along the porticoes, and a great many buildings (*pleista katagōgia*) suitably furnished for the custodians of the place.”⁷² Eusebius leaves the impression that the shrine was the focal point of a complex consisting of several more structures, a complex that had many custodians. Even so, he remains reluctant to name that complex beyond referring to it as a “place” (*topos*). What kind of place was this to require so many keepers? In later times, this area was referred to as Konstantinianai, a type of appellation that habitually describes a neighborhood around a mansion.⁷³ It can be concluded that the bishop describes an imperial palatial complex which included a Christian church doubling as a tomb. Just like the churches near the Great Palace, the Holy Apostles was embedded in an imperial residential complex. There are examples of analogous complexes elsewhere in the empire: Diocletian’s palace in Split, a complex which contained imperial apartments, an emperor’s tomb, and a temple of Jupiter.⁷⁴ Another analog is the Villa of Maxentius in Rome, a complex which featured a tomb within a four-sided peristyle courtyard, a Hippodrome, and a villa proper.⁷⁵ The Great Palace itself provides an example of a public bath attached to an imperial palace.

⁷⁰ Euseb. VC 4.58–9. The bath was built after 345; the church was ready for Constantine’s funeral in 337. The structures are discussed in Dagron, ed. *Naissance*, pp. 400–409; Janin, *Egl. et mon.*, p. 47; Krautheimer, *Three Capitals*, p. 58; G. Prinzing and Paul Speck, “Fünf Lokalitäten in Konstantinopel: Das Bad Konstantinianai, die Paläste Konstantianai und ta Konsta, das Zeugma, das Eptaskalon,” in *Studien zur Frühgeschichte Konstantinopels*, ed. Hans-Georg Beck (Munich: Institut für Byzantinistik und Neugriechische Philologie der Universität, 1973), pp. 179–81. The building of a sanctuary was also the reason for the building of the Blachernae palace. On the Hormisdas palace, see Dagron, ed. *Naissance*, p. 137. For the Hieron palace, below.

⁷¹ On the visits, H.A. Drake, “What Eusebius knew: The genesis of the *Vita Constantini*,” *Classical Philology* 83, no. 1 (1988): 28 (October 335 and July 36).

⁷² Euseb. VC 4.59, trans. Cameron/Hall, p. 176 (translation slightly changed). This description of the Apostles’ shrines and the porticoes surrounding it resembles to a certain degree the Villa of Maxentius on Via Appia, where a tomb stands in the center of a courtyard surrounded by colonnades. See, Jürgen Rasch, *Das Maxentius-Mausoleum an der Via Appia in Rom* (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1984), pls. 1, 2, 6, 7, 58.

⁷³ For the names, see, for instance, *Notitia*, p. 237. The structures in the Konstantinianai are discussed in Dagron, *Naissance*, pp. 400–409; Janin, *Egl. et mon.*, p. 47; Krautheimer, *Three Capitals*, p. 58; Prinzing and Speck, “Fünf Lokalitäten,” pp. 179–81.

⁷⁴ For the palace at Spoleto, see Slobodan Ćurčić, *Architecture in the Balkans from Diocletian to Süleyman the Magnificent* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), pp. 26–42 (Split), fig. 14.

⁷⁵ A. La Regina, *LTUR: Suburbium*, 5 vols (Roma: Quasar, 2001–08), s.v. “Maxentius Praedium (via Appia),” pp. 49–59.

The palace that Justinian built for Theodora in the Hieron, an area located on the other side of the Golden Horn, likewise sparked the creation of a small town. Procopius reports that porticoes (*stoai*), public squares/markets (*agorai*), public baths (*loutrōnas en dēmosiō*), a church of the Theotokos, a port, and an open cistern eventually surrounded the palace.⁷⁶ The author stresses that the amenities of the Hieron rivaled those of the Great Palace.⁷⁷ These examples demonstrate that the Great Palace and lesser imperial palaces needed to house a great number of people, either on a permanent or temporary basis, and that these numerous people connected the residence organically to the city. They would have used the baths, traveled the roads, visited the churches, attended games at the hippodrome, and frequented the various businesses around the palace.

Pulcheria's residences can similarly be associated with urban development and the business, people, and more buildings it attracts. We may infer this from a surviving tax law. In a statute dated August 21, 418, Pulcheria's brother, Theodosius II, stipulates that all merchants and other property holders who belonged to the households of the Augusta Pulcheria and his other sisters—the word used is again *domus*—should pay a particular kind of tax.⁷⁸ The fact that the commercial bustle around these residences was sufficiently intense to catch the emperor's attention speaks to the role of palaces as engines of urban activity. This targeted piece of legislation indicates that the *domus* of Pulcheria and those of her sisters generated considerable revenues and housed many people who engaged in various business ventures on their behalf.

Pulcheria patronized three different locations in the capital. In so doing, she put her own imperial stamp on the face of the great metropolis. As we have seen, she possessed palaces in two, and possibly three, *Regiones*. In contrast, the Augusta seems only to have commissioned one church. If Pulcheria sought to center her public image on personal piety, she would have constructed more churches. But she did not. I suggest that the reason for her priorities can be found in Roman tradition, which mandated a particular imperial role in caring for the capital city.⁷⁹ Emperors since Augustus felt

⁷⁶ *The Greek Anthology (Anthologia Graeca)*, trans. W.R.Paton, 5 vols (London: Heinemann, 1925–1927), 8.820–21 (Justinian as the builder). Location: Procop. *Aed.* 1.3.10, pp. 40–41. Palace and sea dangers: Procop. *Hist. Arc.* 15.36–9, 6: pp. 186–7. See also, Janin, *Constantinople*, pp. 148–9. For the cistern, *ibid.*, p. 206.

⁷⁷ Procop. *Aed.* 1.11.21, p. 95.

⁷⁸ “No merchant or possessor of property which is held subjects to the payment of the lustral tax payable in gold shall, because of his confidence in protection or because of the influence of any person whatsoever of very high rank, suppose that he should be exempt from the payment of the aforesaid tax, not even if he belongs to the estates of the household of the Venerable Lady, Augusta Pulcheria, Our Own sister, or to the household of the Most Noble sisters of Our Piety (*ad domum dominae ac venerabilis Augustae Pulcheriae germanae nostrae seu nobilissimarum sororum pietatis nostrae pertineat*).” CTh 13.1.21, trans. Pharr, p. 387.

⁷⁹ See, for instance, on Augustus' care of Rome, Diane Favro, “‘Pater urbis’: Augustus as city father of Rome,” *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 51, no. 1 (1992): 61–84.



Fig. 4.3 [Plate 7] Solidus of the empress Pulcheria, 442–43, gold. 4.49 g. Obverse: Profile of Pulcheria facing right, diademed and wearing a paludamentum with an imperial fibula and jewelry; hand of God holding a wreath above her head. AEL[IA] PVLCHERIA AVG[VSTA]. Reverse: Constantinopolis seated on a throne, facing left, wearing a helmet, left foot on a ship's prow, holding a *globus cruciger* in extended right hand, long scepter in left; shield by throne to the right, star in the left field. IMP XXXX II COS XVII. P.P. In exergue: COMOB.

obliged to renew the city by building and restoring temples, public spaces, and facilities such as baths.⁸⁰ At the same time, these construction projects provided employment and livelihood to thousands. Building, in other words, was an important token of imperial power. The difference between Rome and Constantinople is in how the imperial buildings were plotted onto the urban fabric. In Constantinople, imperial mansions became kernels of urban growth. However genuine Pulcheria's religious fervor and Theotokos-emulating virginity, her building priorities speak to her imperial authority, authority to be sure delegated to her from God, but nevertheless one that she presented in a traditional imperial manner. Piety, as attested by her patronage of the church of St. Lawrence or by the relic processions in which the empress participated, was integral to this public image but was not the most important aspect. Pulcheria's primary identification was with her rank, to which piety remained an important yet secondary component.

This suggestion is supported by the empress's coinage. One example depicts Pulcheria on the obverse receiving a wreath of victory, a symbol of the right to rule, from the hand of God (Figure 4.3 = Plate 7). On the reverse is shown the imperial city, presented as a personification. Constantinopolis stretches her right hand as if to hand the Augusta the orb of earthly rule, suggesting

⁸⁰ See Augustus' list of buildings in his *Res Gestae*, 19–21 in Alison Cooley, *Res Gestae Divi Augusti: Text, Translation, and Commentary* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 78–84, 182–206.

thereby that the capital city, along with God, bestowed political legitimacy on Pulcheria.⁸¹ The idea of an imperial obligation to the city is of course very old. What is unusual is that the coin applies the notion of obligation to an empress. Pulcheria's authority, as visually expressed by the coin, communicates that the city is central to her worldly power. The message is imperial, secular, traditional, and very different from the one found in the historical sources. Like Pulcheria's buildings, the coin invites us to take a more critical stance toward the afterlife of the empress's public image, and toward the sources that defined it.

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⁸¹ For the orb as imperial token, see Pierre Bastien, *Le buste monétaire des empereurs romains*, Numismatique romaine, no. 19 (Wetteren: Editions numismatiques romaines, 1992), 2: pp. 527–8; Diliانا Angelova, "The ivories of Ariadne and ideas about female imperial authority in Rome and Early Byzantium," *Gesta* 43, no. 1 (2004): pp. 1–15.

Perceptions of Byzantium: Radegund of Poitiers and Relics of the True Cross

Lynn Jones

According to a legend formulated in the late fourth century, the True Cross was discovered in Jerusalem, then part of the Byzantine Empire, by Helena Augusta, mother of the emperor Constantine I.¹ The True Cross, regarded as the visible symbol of Christ's victory over death, became a symbol of the emperor's triumph over enemies, and relics of the Cross were prominently featured in imperial ceremonial.² The Cross was also revered for its apotropaic and protective functions. Byzantine emperors carried fragments of the Cross into battle to insure victory, and hymns sung before military engagements invoked the Cross as a weapon and source of protection.³

¹ In this chapter I use the term 'Early Byzantine' (330–724) to denote the Roman Empire centered on Constantinople, rather than Rome. The most comprehensive study, including a complete bibliography of the legends surrounding Helena and the discovery of the Cross, is Jan W. Drijvers, *Helena Augusta: The Mother of Constantine the Great and the Legend of Her Finding of the True Cross* (Leiden, 1992). See too J.W. Drijvers, "Promoting Jerusalem" in *Holy City, Holy Places? Christian Attitudes to Jerusalem and the Holy Land in the Fourth Century*, ed. Paul W.L. Walker (Oxford, 1990), esp. pp.126–30; Hans J.W. Drijvers and Jans W. Drijvers, *The Finding of the True Cross: The Judas Kyriakos Legend in Syriac* (Louvain, 1992): *Corpus scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium* (CSCO), vol. 565/93. For the legend in the fifth century, see Gregory of Tours, *Historiae Francorum* [=HF], ed. W. Arndt and Bruno Krusch, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (MGH) SRM 1 (Hanover, 1885) 1.36; trans. Lewis Thorpe, *The History of the Franks* [=HF] (London, 1974), pp. 90–91.

² For the evolution of the symbolism and veneration of the relic of the True Cross from the fourth through the sixth centuries, see Anatole Frolov, "The veneration of the relic of the True Cross at the end of the sixth and the beginning of the seventh centuries," *St. Vladimir's Seminary Quarterly* 2/1 (Winter 1958): 13–30; Sirarpie Der Nersessian, "La fête de l'exaltation de la croix," *Annuaire de l'Institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales et slaves* 10 (1950): 193–8; Kenneth G. Holum, "Pulcheria's crusade AD 421–22 and the ideology of imperial victory," *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* (GRBS) 18 (1977): 153–72; R.H. Storch, "The trophy and the Cross: Pagan and Christian symbolism in the fourth and fifth century," *Byzantion* 40 (1970): 105–17.

³ For the Cross taken into battle by Maurice and Heraklios, see Michael McCormack, *Eternal Victory: Triumphal Rulership in Late Antiquity, Byzantium and the Early Medieval West*

During periods of siege a fragment of the Cross was paraded along the walls of Constantinople.⁴

The site, circumstance and agent of the discovery of the True Cross also established Byzantine control of the relic. It was a Byzantine practice to distribute fragments of the Cross, often enclosed in Byzantine-produced reliquaries, to foreign rulers, dignitaries and religious officials. Relics of the Cross were used in this fashion to reward orthodoxy, confirm the political legitimacy of the recipient, or promote one individual or dynasty over another.⁵ The imperial court controlled distribution of these relics, and for much of the medieval period other Christian cultures could obtain fragments of the Cross only from Byzantium. To what degree were Byzantine relics of the True Cross emblematic of, and identified with, Byzantium and Eastern Orthodoxy by their non-Byzantine recipients?

The differing fates that awaited these relics in their new settings make it clear that they did convey aspects of Byzantine identity. In some hands, the Byzantine origin of these relics was re-emphasized. In other instances these objects were distanced from their Byzantine provenance and assigned new identities. In order to assess the play of identity that such relics set in motion it is important to document two types of processes: the forging of new written traditions and the modification and/or display of the relics' housing. In the pages that follow I examine how the Byzantine identity of two Cross relics, conveyed through textual tradition and the display of Byzantine-produced reliquaries, met with different fates in Poitiers.⁶

(New York, 1986), pp. 247–9; for the adoption of this practice by western rulers, see *ibid.*, pp. 308–11. It was Crusader practice for the Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem or, occasionally, the prior of the Holy Sepulcher to carry the Cross into battle. See Anatole Frolow, *La relique de la Vraie Croix* (Paris, 1961), pp. 287–90; William Archbishop of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, trans. E.A. Babcock and A.C. Krey (New York, 1943), p. 388; Jonathan Riley-Smith, "The Latin clergy and the settlement in Palestine and Syria, 1098–1100," *Catholic Historical Review* (CHR) 74 (1988): 54–62; Alan V. Murray "Mighty against the enemies of Christ": The relic of the True Cross in the armies of the Kingdom of Jerusalem," in *The Crusades and Their Sources: Essays Presented to Bernard Hamilton*, ed. John France and William G. Zajac (Aldershot, 1998), pp. 217–38.

⁴ Christopher Walter, "The apotropaic function of the victorious cross," *Revue des études byzantines* (RÉB) 55 (1997): 193–220; Nicole Thierry, "Le culte de la croix dans l'empire byzantin du VII^e siècle au Xe," *Revista di studi bizantini slavi* 1 (1981): 205–18.

⁵ H.-G. Thümmel, "Kreuze, Reliquien und Bilder im Zeremonienbuch des Constantinos Porphyrogennetos," *Byzantinische Forschungen* (ByzF) 18 (1992): 119–26; Krijna N. Ciggaar, *Western Travellers to Constantinople: The West and Byzantium, 962–1204: Cultural and Political Relations, The Medieval Mediterranean*, 10 (Leiden, 1996).

⁶ For more on the role of Byzantine relics of the Cross outside of Byzantium and the play of identity they set in motion in their reception in non-Byzantine courts, see Lynn Jones, "From Anglorum basileus to Norman saint: The transformation of Edward the Confessor," *Haskins Society Journal* 12 (2002): 99–120; Lynn Jones, "The visual expression of Bagratuni rulership: Ceremonial and portraiture," *Revue des études Arméniennes* (RÉArm) 28 (2001–02): 341–98; Lynn Jones, "Medieval Armenian identity and relics of the True Cross," *Journal of the Society of Armenian Studies* 12 (2001): 43–53.



Plate 1 Münster, Bibelmuseum der Universität Münster, cod. gr. 10, fol. 154v.
Evangelist John the Theologian.



Plate 2 Münster, Bibelmuseum der Universität Münster, cod. gr. 10, fol. 7r.
Beginning of Matthew.

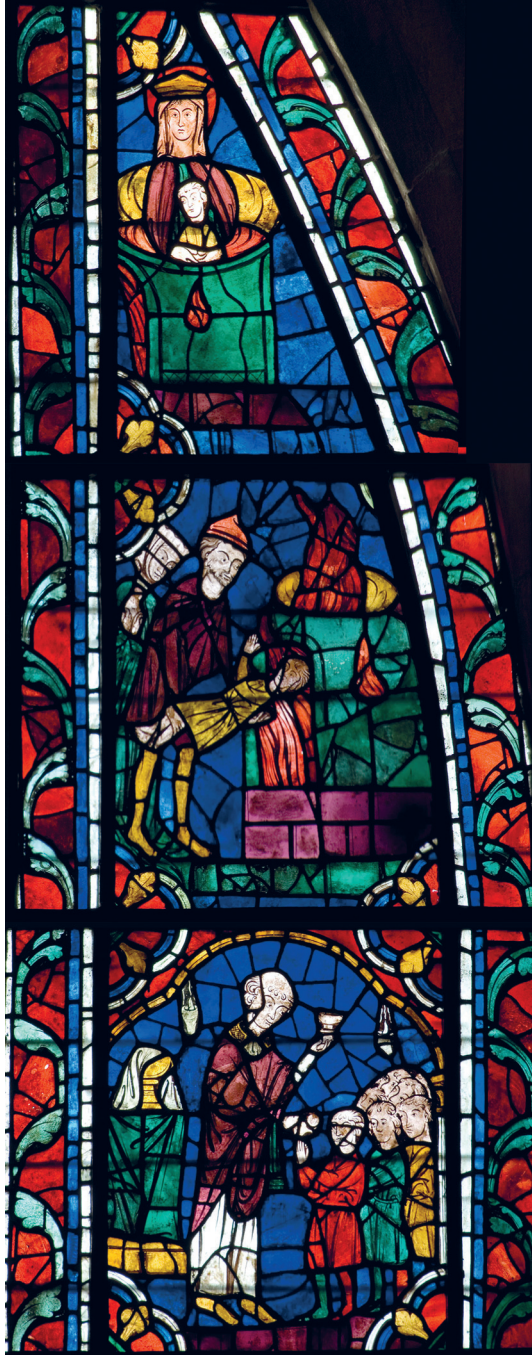


Plate 6 The Jewish Boy who Took Communion, bay 110, south ambulatory window, Le Mans Cathedral.



Plate 7 Solidus of the empress Pulcheria, 442–43, gold. 4.49 g. Obverse: Profile of Pulcheria facing right, diademed and wearing a paludamentum with an imperial fibula and jewelry; hand of God holding a wreath above her head. AEL[IA] PVLCHERIA AVG[VSTA]. Reverse: Constantinopolis seated on a throne, facing left, wearing a helmet, left foot on a ship's prow, holding a globus cruciger in extended right hand, long scepter in left; shield by throne to the right, star in the left field. IMP XXXII COS XVII P P. In exergue: COMOB. Harvard Art Museums/Arthur M. Sackler Museum, bequest of Thomas Whittemore, 1951.31.4.159.



Plate 8 True Cross reliquary of Radegund, central panel. Enamel and wood, eleventh century.



Plate 9 Reliquary containing the Rhodes Hand of St. John the Baptist.



Plate 10 Rizokarpaso, church of Agios Sinesios, view of the façade.



Plate 11 Peristerona (near Nicosia), the village mosque.



Plate 12 Istanbul, Collection of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, from the church of the Holy Trinity at Halki. Two-sided icon. Left: Mother of God Pafsolype with ten feast scenes; Right: Crucifixion with four prophets.





Plate 13 Ivory Crucifixion plaque,
as in 2003 (above) and 2007 (below).
Front.





Plate 14 The Heavenly Ladder of John Klimakos, fresco, 1312. Exonarthex of the Vatopedi katholikon, Mount Athos.

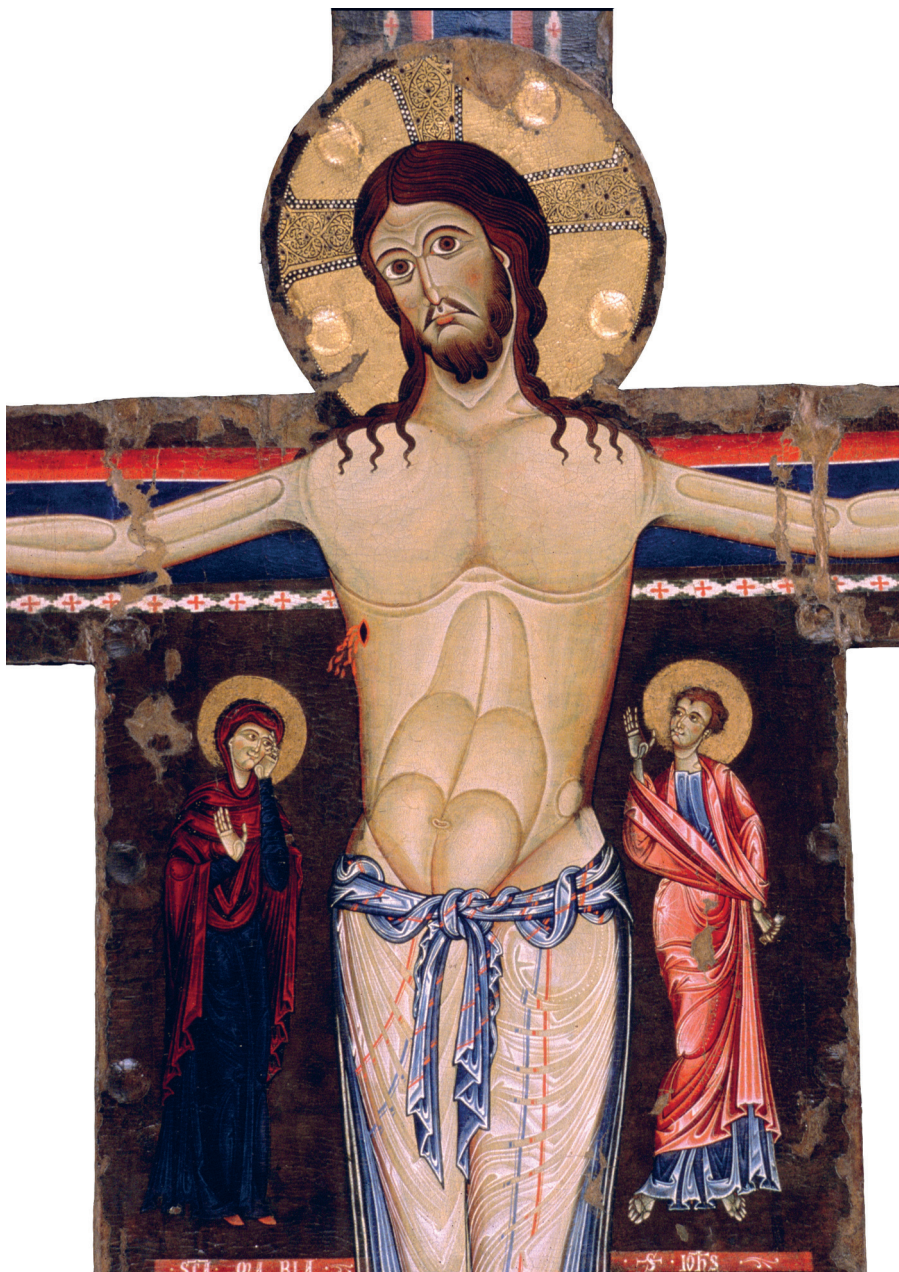


Plate 15 Cross of Alberto Sotio (G456), 1187. Tempera on panel with intermediary layer of parchment, c. 9' x 6'8" (2.78 x 2 m). Church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo, Spoleto; now in the cathedral of S.M. Assunta in Spoleto.

While these two relics of the True Cross are separated by six centuries, both were associated with Radegund of Poitiers: queen, nun and saint. Radegund's life is remarkably well documented. Key events in her life were recorded shortly after her death in 587 by her contemporaries and associates: Venantius Fortunatus, the Italian poet who would later become bishop of Poitiers; and Gregory, bishop of Tours, historian, hagiographer and saint.⁷ An additional account, the earliest extant *Life* of Radegund, was written in the seventh century by the nun Baudonivia.⁸ While these works were largely motivated by the desire to celebrate and promote Radegund's piety, one suspects that the sheer drama of her life was also irresistible. Born circa 520, Radegund was the daughter of the Thuringian king Berthaire. While still a child she and her brother were captured by the Merovingian army and claimed as booty by Clothar (511–61), then king of Soissons. The siblings were raised and educated at the Merovingian royal court at Athiès and when she came of age Radegund was forced to marry Clothar, who was now king of the Franks. Her conspicuous piety soon attracted attention and, as she clearly preferred her heavenly bridegroom to her earthly husband, the royal marriage became the subject of ribald jokes⁹ (Figure 5.1).

After six years of turbulent and childless marriage, Radegund left Clothar, perhaps spurred by his role in the murder of her brother.¹⁰ Clothar was reluctant to release her—according to Fortunatus, he saw the queen's defection as an insult to his own manly reputation.¹¹ Once free of the court Radegund sought confirmation as a deaconess from Medard, the bishop of Noyon. Word of the impending event reached Clothar, who sent men to stop the proceedings. They arrived in the nick of time and physically dragged Medard from the altar so that he would not "veil the king's wife."¹² Undaunted, Radegund changed

⁷ Venantius Fortunatus, *Vita sanctae Radegundis, Liber I*, c.2, ed. B. Krusch, MGH, SRM 2 (1888), trans. Jo Ann McNamara and John E. Halborg, *Sainted Women of the Dark Ages* (Durham, NC, 1992), pp. 70–103; Gregory of Tours, *De Gloria Martyrum* [=GM], ed. B. Krusch, MGH, SRM 1 (1885); trans. Raymond Van Dam, *Glory of the Martyrs* [=GM] (Liverpool, 1988).

⁸ Baudonivia, *Vita sanctae Radegundis, Liber II*, c.16, ed. B. Krusch, MGH, SRM 2 (1888), trans. McNamara and Halborg, *Sainted Women*, pp. 86–105.

⁹ Fortunatus, *Vita Radegundis* 1.3–1.5; trans. McNamara and Halborg, *Sainted Women*, pp. 70–73; René Aigrain, *Sainte Radegonde* (Paris, 1918), pp. 39–43.

¹⁰ According to Gregory of Tours, Clothar ordered the murder: *HF*, 3.7, trans. Thorpe, *HF*, p. 168. According to Fortunatus, Clothar was innocent: Fortunatus, *Vita Radegundis* 1.12, trans. McNamara and Halborg, *Sainted Women*, p. 75. For a discussion of these contradictory sources see Aigrain, *Sainte Radegonde*, pp. 46–7. There is no record of Radegund bearing any children.

¹¹ This insult was no doubt compounded by the fact that Clothar's grandmother, a Thuringian queen, had abandoned her own husband, who was also Radegund's grandfather, in favor of another king with greater virility—an anecdote that was still making the rounds in Clothar's court. Gregory of Tours, *HF*, 2.12, trans. Thorpe, *HF*, pp. 128–9.

¹² For Radegund and Medard, see Fortunatus, *Vita Radegundis*, 1.12, trans. McNamara and Halborg, *Sainted Women*, p. 75. For a discussion of polygyny and the early Merovingian kings see S.F. Wemple, *Women in Frankish Society: Marriage and the Cloister, 500 to 900* (Philadelphia, 1981), pp. 38–42.



Fig. 5.1 Radegund at the table, praying and refusing the bed. *Vie de Sainte Radegonde par Fortunat* Ms 250 (136), f. 24r. Eleventh century.

into monastic garb, confronted the shaken bishop in the sanctuary and accused him of being more afraid of man than of God. "Thunderstruck by her entreaty ... he laid his hands on her and consecrated her as deaconess"¹³ (Figure 5.2). Radegund spent the next few years traveling through Gaul; visiting the shrines of martyrs and saints; and devoting herself to pious deeds. She then

¹³ Fortunatus, *Vita Radegundis*, 1.12, trans. McNamara and Halborg, *Sainted Women*, p. 75.



Fig. 5.2 Radegund and Medard, *Vie de Sainte Radegonde* par Fortunat Ms 250 (136), f. 27v. Eleventh century.

settled near Tours and established a hospice for the care of sick women.¹⁴ When Clothar renewed his attempts to reclaim her, Radegund turned for

¹⁴ Fortunatus, *Vita Radegundis*, 1.14–1.17, trans. McNamara and Halborg, *Sainted Women*, pp. 76–7.

help to Germanus, the bishop of Paris. Germanus not only persuaded the king to officially renounce his wife, he also convinced Clothar to provide Rade Gund with funds for the establishment of a convent inside the city walls of Poitiers.¹⁵ This foundation was approved by Pientius, the bishop of Poitiers, and by his designated successor, Duke Austrapius. According to the seventh-century *Life of Rade Gund*, Pientius aided in the swift construction of the convent, which incorporated one of the city walls into its structure.¹⁶ The church was dedicated to the Virgin, and Rade Gund stocked her convent with the female dependants of Merovingian kings, simultaneously boosting the prestige of her foundation and swelling its ranks.¹⁷

Clothar died in 561 and the country was subsequently divided between his sons. Control of Poitiers went to Charibert (r. 561–67), and when bishop Pientius died the new king installed his own candidate, Pascentius.¹⁸ The new bishop and his successor, Maroveus, were less eager than their predecessors to accommodate the royal nun. The bishop of Poitiers derived much of his local authority from his role as the steward of St. Hilary's relics, located in a church outside the city's walls, which were second only to the shrine of St. Martin at Tours as a goal of regional pilgrimage.¹⁹ Within this context, Rade Gund's abbey challenged the bishop's authority on several levels. While the basilica of St. Hilary had not attracted royal patronage, Rade Gund's abbey was well endowed with money granted her by Clothar.²⁰ In 561 she expanded her foundation, constructing a second church outside the city walls which was also dedicated to the Virgin. Finally, to the documented alarm of the bishop, Rade Gund began to collect relics; she particularly wished to obtain a relic of the True Cross.²¹

¹⁵ Baudonivia, *Vita Radegundis*, 2.5, trans. McNamara and Halborg, *Sainted Women*, pp. 88–9; Gregory of Tours, *HF*, 3.7, 9.42, trans. Thorpe, *HF*, pp. 168–9, 535.

¹⁶ Gregory of Tours, *HF*, 4.18, trans. Thorpe, *HF*, p. 214; Baudonivia, *Vita Radegundis*, 2.5, trans. McNamara and Halborg, *Sainted Women*, pp. 88–9. The precise date of the founding of Rade Gund's monastery is debated; see Isabel Moreira, *Dreams, Visions, and Spiritual Authority in Merovingian Gaul* (Ithaca, NY, 2000), p. 185 n.62.

¹⁷ This is evident in the nuns present at Rade Gund's funeral and those named in the revolt following her death. See Gregory of Tours, *HF*, 9.38–9; trans. Thorpe, *HF*, pp. 526–7; Gregory of Tours, *de Gloria confessorum* [=GC], 104, trans. with introduction Raymond Van Dam, *Glory of the Confessors, Gregory of Tours* [=GC] (Liverpool, 1988), p. 105 and n. 116.

¹⁸ Gregory of Tours, *HF*, 4.18; trans. Thorpe, *HF*, pp. 214–15. The exact date of Pientius's death and Pascentius's elevation is not known.

¹⁹ For the monuments dedicated to St. Hilary, see *Histoire de Poitiers*, ed. R. Favreau (Toulouse, 1985), pp. 60–62, 69, 74–8, 83–5; Gregory of Tours, *GC* 2, trans. Van Dam, *GC* pp. 18–19. For Fortunatus's *Life of St. Hilary* see Raymond Van Dam, *Saints and their Miracles in Late Antique Gaul* (Princeton, NJ, 1993), pp. 155–61. For the extent of the cult of St. Hilary see *ibid.*, pp. 28–30.

²⁰ Clovis is known to have given gifts of booty from his conquests to several churches; a later account includes a gift to St. Hilary's. See K. Hauck, "Von einer spätantiken Randkultur zum karolingischen Europa," *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* (FS) 1 (1967): 3–93.

²¹ For Rade Gund's early attempts to acquire a relic of the True Cross see Isabel Moriera, "Provisatrix optima: St. Rade Gund of Poitiers' relic petitions to the East," *Journal of*

Radegund's first effort toward achieving her aim was to send envoys to the Holy Land. The Patriarch of Jerusalem freely displayed his Cross relic to her representatives, but refused their request for a fragment.²² When the envoys returned to Poitiers bearing only the otherwise unspecified relics of eastern saints, Radegund turned to another source. Charibert had died and Poitiers was now under the control of Sigibert (d. 575). Radegund sought his permission to request a Cross relic from Justin II (r. 565–78), the newly installed emperor of Byzantium. Sigibert wrote in support of Radegund's request and his letter, with Radegund's own petitions, was sent by envoy to Constantinople in 568.²³ Radegund also enlisted the aid of her cousin Amalafrid, who had been captured in the Byzantine conquest of Ravenna in 540 and had subsequently risen through the ranks of the Byzantine army to become a general.²⁴ This network of illustrious connections did the trick, perhaps aided by the excellent timing of the request—given her connections, it is possible that Radegund knew that the emperor had recently given a fragment of the True Cross to John III, acknowledging his accession to the papacy.²⁵ Radegund's request was granted and her envoys sent word that they were returning from Constantinople with a variety of splendid objects, including an illuminated Gospel with a richly jeweled cover, an assortment of relics of unspecified eastern saints and, most importantly, a fragment of the True Cross enclosed in a jeweled reliquary.²⁶

At Radegund's request, Fortunatus composed a laudatory poem in honor of the emperor and his wife, Sophia, for presentation at the Byzantine court. The poem gives insight into Radegund's perception of her own position, both

Medieval History 19/4 (1993): 285–306. See also Cynthia Hahn, "Collector and saint: Queen Radegund and devotion to the relic of the True Cross," *Word and Image* 22 (2006): 268–74, and Cynthia Hahn, *Strange Beauty: Issues in the Making and Meaning of Reliquaries, 400–circa 1204* (University Park, PA, 2012), pp. 14, 81, 179, 196.

²² According to Baudonivia, the Byzantine Patriarch of Jerusalem granted Radegund a finger of St. Mamas of Caesaria, but the lack of any evidence that relics of Mamas were ever in Jerusalem has troubled scholars since the seventeenth century. Baudonivia, *Vita Radegundis*, 2.14, trans. McNamara and Halborg, *Sainted Women* pp. 95–6. Moreira, "Provisatrix optima," convincingly argues that Baudonivia's account should be seen as an attempt to smooth over the failure to acquire a relic of the True Cross from Jerusalem. See too Aigrain, *Sainte Radegonde*, pp. 92–6.

²³ Baudonivia, *Vita Radegundis*, 2.16, trans. McNamara and Halborg, *Sainted Women*, pp. 96–7. For the dating of the envoy's departure and return, see Averil Cameron, "The early religious policies of Justin II" in *The Orthodox Churches and the West*, ed. D. Baker, *Studies in Church History* 13 (Oxford, 1986), 51–67. Reprinted in Cameron, *Continuity and Change in Sixth-Century Byzantium* (London, 1981), chapter 10.

²⁴ Cameron, "Early religious policies," p. 57. On Amalafrid, see Aigrain, *Sainte Radegonde*, pp. 19–21.

²⁵ For color images and full discussion see S. Guido, *La Crux Vaticana o Croce di Giustino II* (Vatican City, 2009). Also, Frolov, *La relique*, pp. 180–81; Cameron, "Early Religious Policies," p. 55.

²⁶ Gregory of Tours, *HF*, 9.40, trans. Thorpe, *HF*, p. 530; Baudonivia, *Vita Radegundis*, 2.16, trans. McNamara and Halborg, *Sainted Women*, p. 97, Frolov, *La relique*, pp. 179–80.

in Merovingian Gaul and vis-à-vis the Byzantine court. Fortunatus begins by praising Justin and Sophia equally, characterizing the imperial couple as a “new Constantine” and “Helena.”²⁷ Radegund’s status is then clearly defined. She is not presented as a humble nun or even a deaconess, but as a queen—and as a Thuringian queen, at that.²⁸ Fortunatus also repeatedly stresses that the request for the relic came directly from Radegund and was granted by Sophia—Maroveus, now the bishop of Poitiers, is not mentioned by name or office.²⁹

Judging by his subsequent actions, Maroveus found the combination of Radegund, the Byzantine court and a relic of the True Cross to be an unsupportable challenge to his authority.³⁰ He refused Radegund’s request to officiate at the final transfer of the relic from Constantinople, blocked the entrance of the envoys—and thus the relic—into the city, and then rode off to his country villa.³¹ The relic was sent to a monastery in Tours for safekeeping. Radegund appealed again to Sigibert, who dispatched bishop Eufronius of Tours to preside over the relic’s reception at the city gates of Poitiers.³² It was by all accounts a fabulous event, and in all accounts the fragment of the True Cross is given precedence over the other relics and imperial gifts. For the occasion, Fortunatus composed two hymns of greeting, including the famous *Vexilla regis prodeunt*.³³ The population of the city and of the surrounding regions turned out in full force to greet the Cross relic. Upon its reception the convent church, originally dedicated to the Virgin, was re-dedicated to the Holy Cross.

Radegund’s relic was placed in the oratory of the Church of the Holy Cross and displayed every Wednesday and Friday; when not on display it

²⁷ Fortunatus, *Ad Iustinum et Sophiam Augustos*, MGH AA 4 (i) pp. 275–8, lines 69–70.

²⁸ Fortunatus, *Ad Iustinum*, line 57 for Radegund as Thuringian queen; lines 55–6 for the gift of the Cross relic from Sophia to Radegund.

²⁹ Fortunatus, *Ad Iustinum*, lines 87–90, 96. For Fortunatus’s career before coming to Poitiers see Brian Brennan, “The image of the Merovingian bishop in the poetry of Venantius Fortunatus,” *Journal of Medieval History* 18 (1992): 115–39.

³⁰ Maroveus assumed the bishopric c. 568. Tension between Pascentius, Maroveus and Radegund is evident in a letter of uncertain date written by several bishops commending Radegund for the foundation of her convent. It is not signed by either the bishop of Poitiers or his metropolitan, the bishop of Bordeaux, and there is no mention of St. Hilary. The letter is preserved in Gregory of Tours, *HF*, 9.39, trans. Thorpe, *HF*, pp. 526–9. For a discussion see Van Dam, *Saints and their Miracles*, pp. 30–31.

³¹ Gregory of Tours, *HF* 9.40, trans. Thorpe, *HF*, p. 530.

³² For the redirecting of the relic to Tours see Baudonivia, *Vita Radegundis*, 2.16, trans. McNamara and Halborg, *Sainted Women*, pp. 97–8; Joan M. Peterson, trans. and ed., *Handmaids of the Lord* (Kalamazoo MI, 1996), p. 374. Eufronius was Gregory’s predecessor. His participation was achieved by Count Justinus, who was sent by Sigibert to ask for the bishop’s cooperation in the reception of the relics. Moreira, “*Provisatrix Optima*,” pp. 290–91, notes that Eufronius was outside his jurisdiction, as Poitiers fell in the metropolitan diocese of Bordeaux.

³³ Fortunatus, *Ad Iustinum*, 2.6. For the hymns, see J. Szoverffy, “Venantius Fortunatus and the earliest hymns to the Holy Cross,” *Classical Folio* 20 (1966): 107–22.

was housed in a silver container (*arca*).³⁴ The relic soon evinced miraculous healing powers, and knowledge of these powers quickly extended beyond the convent walls.³⁵ As its fame spread the church became the focus of local and regional pilgrimage, increasing the tension between the bishop of Poitiers and the royal nun.³⁶ Simply put, Radegund had trumped Maroveus. The True Cross was one of the few relics associated with Christ, and as such was the premier Christian relic and an object of devotion for all Christians. In contrast, the relics of St. Hilary and the sites associated with his life promoted a former bishop and were the object of limited, regional pilgrimage. Maroveus was not gracious in defeat. According to Gregory of Tours, "down the years Radegund had frequent occasion to seek the help of the bishop, but she received none."³⁷ Unable to rely on his support, Radegund adopted the Caesarian Rule, which emphasizes the right of a convent to freedom from episcopal interference.³⁸ As Raymond Van Dam notes, Maroveus was thus confronted with a convent inside the city walls of Poitiers but outside his jurisdiction, founded with royal support by a former queen. It also possessed an imperially gifted, wonder-working relic of the True Cross.

As the fame of her abbey eclipsed that of the basilica of St. Hilary and the cathedral, so too did Radegund's own pious authority overtake that of Maroveus. Radegund became known for her miraculous powers, particularly her ability to free those who were imprisoned unjustly and to heal those possessed by demons.³⁹ Curing the possessed was the acid test for sanctity in the early medieval west, and Gregory notes that "the common people looked upon her as a Saint."⁴⁰ As her pious reputation grew Radegund became increasingly powerful. She issued directives from a *cathedra* and in her own foundation her authority was absolute. She was also a force to be reckoned with outside the convent walls. She thwarted king Chilperic's attempt to remove

³⁴ Gregory of Tours, *GM*, trans. Van Dam, *GM*, p. 22; Gregory of Tours, *HF*, 9.40, 10.14, trans. Thorpe, pp. 530, 567. For a survey of material relating to oratories in this period and a discussion of their accessibility, see Gillian Mackie, *Early Christian Chapels in the West* (Toronto, 2003); Julia Smith, "Women at the tomb: Access to relic shrines in the early Middle Ages" in *The World of Gregory of Tours*, ed. K. Mitchell and I. Wood (Leiden, 2002), pp. 163–80.

³⁵ For an account of a man "who had come there to be cured by the wondrous relic of the True Cross" and who is clearly inside the convent, see Gregory of Tours, *HF*, 6.28, trans. Thorpe, *HF*, p. 356. For Gregory's account of a miracle associated with Radegund's Cross, see Gregory of Tours, *GM*, 5, trans. Van Dam, *GM*, pp. 22–4.

³⁶ Gregory of Tours, *HF*, 9.42, trans. Thorpe, *HF*, p. 536.

³⁷ Gregory of Tours, *HF*, 9.40, trans. Thorpe, *HF*, p. 530.

³⁸ Gregory of Tours, *HF*, 9.40, trans. Thorpe, *HF*, p. 530; Van Dam, *Saints and their Miracles*, p. 32 n. 109. Moriera, *Dreams, Visions, and Spiritual Authority*, p. 186, n. 63 argues that the church of the Holy Cross adopted the Caesarian Rule c. 573.

³⁹ Fortunatus, *Vita Radegundis*, 1.27–38, trans. McNamara and Halborg, *Sainted Women*, pp. 82–5; Baudonivia, *Vita Radegundis*, 2.24–6, trans. McNamara and Halborg, *Sainted Women*, pp. 103–4.

⁴⁰ Gregory of Tours, *HF*, 3.7, trans. Thorpe, *HF*, pp. 168–9.

his daughter from the abbey for the purpose of making an advantageous marriage.⁴¹ She intervened in the feuds of the Merovingian kings, acting as both advisor and mediator. She was a powerful patron, supporting Gregory in his bid to become bishop of Tours and establishing the ecclesiastic career of Fortunatus.⁴²

Radegund's authority was based in part on the strength of her extraordinary personality, but it also depended upon her royal rank. Her acquisition of a relic of the True Cross from the Byzantine court both confirmed and advertised this rank.⁴³ Fortunatus, in his poem written for the imperial court, carefully framed the gift of the Cross relic as a gesture from one queen to another. There was a tradition linking women of noble birth and relics of the True Cross, beginning with Helena.⁴⁴ According to legend, Helena divided the relic into two parts. One remained in Jerusalem and was eventually enshrined in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, while the other was sent to Constantinople.⁴⁵

Chronologically and geographically closer to Radegund is the only fragment of the True Cross known to be in Gaul before the sixth century; it too arrived via a network of aristocratic women. In the late fourth century Melania the Elder received a fragment of the True Cross from the Patriarch of Jerusalem. She presented a portion of the relic to Therasia, the wife of Paulinus of Nola, who gave it, or a portion of it, to her husband. Paulinus subdivided the gift, wearing one splinter around his neck and enshrining another beneath the altar of his newly founded church of St. Felix.⁴⁶ Therasia sent another splinter to Bassula, who gave it to her son-in-law, Sulpicius Severus, in Gaul. Like Paulinus, Severus further divided his relic, wearing one fragment and depositing a splinter beneath the altar of his new foundation, located near Toulouse.⁴⁷

⁴¹ For the *cathedra* and the uncomfortable fate of a housemaid who presumed to sit in it after Radegund's death, see Baudonivia, *Vita Radegundis* 2.12, trans. McNamara and Halborg, *Sainted Women*, p. 94. For the prevention of the marriage of Basina, daughter of King Chilperic, see Gregory of Tours, *HF*, 6.34, trans. Thorpe, *HF*, pp. 364–5.

⁴² Gregory was appointed bishop in 573. For Radegund's status as arbitrator in royal feuds, see Gregory of Tours, *HF*, 7.36, trans. Thorpe, *HF*, p. 420.

⁴³ As first put forth by Peter Brown, "Relics and social status in the age of Gregory of Tours," Stanton Lecture (1976); reprinted in Brown, *Society and the Holy in Late Antiquity* (London, 1982), pp. 222–50.

⁴⁴ Drijvers, *Helena Augusta*, passim; Frolov, *La relique*, pp. 155–8. For an analysis of the role of women in the development and acceptance of aristocratic Christianity see Peter Brown, "Aspects of the Christianization of the Roman aristocracy," *Journal of Roman Studies* (JRS) 51 (1961): 1–11.

⁴⁵ Frolov, *La relique*, pp. 167–9.

⁴⁶ Although Gregory of Tours knows of Melania's pilgrimage, he makes no mention of the relic of the Cross; see *HF*, 1.39, trans. Thorpe, *HF*, p. 92.

⁴⁷ Frolov, *La relique*, pp. 169–70. Sulpicius Severus's foundation was in Primalaculum and was dedicated to St. Claire. For this foundation, see Severus, *Ep.*, 31.6 (Corp. Script. Eccles. Lat. 29, 274), trans. P.G. Walsh, *Paulinus of Nola: Letters, Ancient Christian Writers* (New York, 1967).

Further confirmation of the link between noblewomen and relics of the Cross is provided by Gregory of Tours, who obtained from a returning pilgrim a piece of silk which had once wrapped the True Cross. Questioning that anyone was worthy to receive such a gift, Gregory pressed his unnamed benefactor for further information. He was told that the cloth was acquired in Jerusalem from the abbot Furtes (?Photios), “who had great favor with the empress Sophia.”⁴⁸ It may be suggested that the empress’s involvement—however indirect—provided the cloth with a legitimate pedigree, one which was later confirmed by the miraculous cures effected by the silk and by the water in which it had been soaked.⁴⁹

By emphasizing the role of noblewomen in the acquisition of Radegund’s Cross relic, Fortunatus successfully linked Radegund with an established model, underscoring the legitimacy of the gift and the pious worthiness of the recipient. Gregory gave clear expression to this in his writing, where he compared Radegund to Helena “in both merit and faith.”⁵⁰ This theme was to be further developed by Baudonivia after Radegund’s death: “what Helena had done in the East, Radegund did for Gaul”—a development we shall revisit.⁵¹ However, Radegund’s Cross relic differed in one significant way from those associated with Helena, Melania and Therasia—it was not from Jerusalem. To my knowledge, Radegund’s relic of the True Cross was the only relic of any type in Merovingian Gaul with an acknowledged Constantinopolitan provenance.

As we have seen, in her search for a Cross relic Radegund first turned to Jerusalem, and there is ample evidence that Jerusalem was the preferred locus for the acquisition of such relics by western elites. Melania the Elder obtained her relic of the True Cross in Jerusalem, in 402. A letter dated 454 records the reception of a Cross relic by Pope Leo I from Juvenal, bishop of Jerusalem. In 514 Avit, bishop and later saint of Vienne, asked Pope Symmachos to support his request for a Cross relic from Elias I, bishop of Jerusalem. Gregory of Tours’s silk had once wrapped the True Cross in Jerusalem.⁵²

⁴⁸ Gregory of Tours, *GM*, 1.5, trans. Van Dam, *GM*, p. 26.

⁴⁹ Gregory of Tours, *GM*, 5, trans. Van Dam, *GM*, p. 26.

⁵⁰ Gregory of Tours, *GM*, 5, trans. Van Dam, *GM*, p. 22.

⁵¹ Baudonivia, *Vita Radegundis*, 2.16, trans. McNamara and Halborg, *Sainted Women*, p. 97.

⁵² For Leo I, see Frolow, *La relique*, p. 171; for St. Avit, who is not mentioned in any of Gregory’s surviving works, see *ibid.*, p. 177; for Gregory’s silk, see *ibid.*, p. 178; and for his later acquisition of a Cross relic, see below, n 55. The acquisition of Cross relics from Jerusalem was not limited to western elites: in c. 460 the king of Georgia, Wakhtang Gourgaslan, gave the cathedral at Nikoz a Cross fragment he had acquired while on pilgrimage in Jerusalem; see *ibid.*, p. 172. Maximianus, Bishop of Ravenna, is said to have had a relic of the Cross, but its provenance is not known; see *ibid.*, p. 177. To my knowledge, the only Cross relic with an acknowledged Constantinopolitan provenance held outside of that city and dating to the period in question (c. 400–560) is that recorded in a text dated to 500. It relates the story of the Cross relic obtained by the Georgian prince and later saint Peter the Iberian while a visitor in the court of Theodosius II. See *ibid.*, pp. 170–71.

These examples, considered together with Fortunatus's careful and repeated pairing of Sophia and Radegund—rather than Justin II and Radegund—suggest a nuanced perception of the different identities conveyed by Cross relics acquired from Jerusalem and Constantinople. It may be suggested that Cross relics originating in Jerusalem were seen as more “purely” sacred since they could be more directly linked to the specific sites and events they evoked and commemorated. It may also be suggested that to non-Orthodox, Christian elite prior to the end of the seventh century, relics of the Cross with a Constantinopolitan provenance were more closely linked with Byzantium—with the Byzantine court and/or the Orthodox Church—than those with a Jerusalem provenance.⁵³

The differing degrees of Byzantine identity conveyed by Cross relics from Jerusalem and Constantinople are apparent in Radegund's need to consult Sigibert only when she turned to Constantinople. Averil Cameron, in her analysis of the policies of Justin II as related to his distribution of Cross relics, convincingly demonstrates the essentially political concerns motivating these gifts. Cameron suggests that Justin was moved to comply with Radegund's wishes not by her piety or rank, but by the hope that such gifts might persuade the Gauls to embrace both the Orthodox faith and the empire.⁵⁴

The use to which Radegund put her Cross relic once it arrived in Poitiers also differed from the use to which Helena, Melania and Therasia put their relics. The latter gave theirs to male relatives.⁵⁵ Helena sent a portion of Cross to her son; according to legend, Constantine enshrined fragments of the Cross in the base of his intended mausoleum in Constantinople.⁵⁶ As we have seen, Paulinus and Severus wore slivers of their relics as personal talismans and consecrated their pious foundations with the remaining fragments, concealing them beneath altars.

In contrast, Radegund's relic was not given away, kept for personal use, or deposited beneath the altar of her convent. It was instead visibly present in its Byzantine-produced, jeweled reliquary, displayed twice weekly to the

⁵³ The taking of Jerusalem by the Sasanian Persians in 614 and the loss of the True Cross—while it was restored to the city by Heraklios in 630 it was removed to Constantinople in the face of the approach of Omar's armies in 635—effectively ended the role of Jerusalem as a source for Cross relics. This role was not resumed until 1099, when the Crusaders took Jerusalem, established a Latin Patriarch and discovered a fragment of the Cross concealed in the floor of the Holy Sepulcher. For this latter invention, see Frolow, *La relique*, pp. 286–7.

⁵⁴ Cameron, “Early religious policies,” esp. pp. 56–7.

⁵⁵ If the relic of the Cross said to be in the oratory of the monastery of St. Martin at Tours was indeed given to Gregory by Radegund, here she did emulate her female predecessors, giving a splinter of the relic not to her male blood relative but to her spiritual brother in Christ. For this possible gift, which is dated after the arrival of Radegund's relic in Poitiers, see Gregory of Tours, *GM*, 14, trans. Van Dam, *GM*, p. 36; Frolow, *La relique*, p. 178.

⁵⁶ For the many and tangled legends regarding the fate of this piece of the Cross and the nails of the Crucifix, also said to be sent to the capital by Helena, see Frolow, *La relique*, pp. 167–9.

faithful. When not on display, the relic and its reliquary were housed in a silver chasse, emulating the practice of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem, where the True Cross was kept in a silver container.⁵⁷

The Cross relic in Poitiers, when perceived in combination with the other imperial and patriarchal gifts to Radegund's foundation, the compositions of Fortunatus and the public memory of the relic's reception from Constantinople, underscored Radegund's status as a familiar of the emperor *and* the patriarch, establishing her pious worthiness and justifying her increasingly independent actions.⁵⁸

When Radegund died in 587 Gregory of Tours proclaimed her eulogy before 200 weeping nuns. His presence was made necessary by the refusal of Maroveus to officiate at Radegund's funeral—evidence that the threat posed by Radegund and the relic of the Cross outlived the royal nun.⁵⁹ She was buried in the Church of the Virgin outside the walls of Poitiers. Her sanctity was confirmed immediately, when those possessed by demons were cured as her body was carried past them.⁶⁰ Her tomb became a site of miraculous healing. Radegund was soon venerated as a saint and the church originally dedicated to the Virgin became known as Saint Radegund's.⁶¹

This church now attracted the lion's share of pilgrims, supplanting the shrines dedicated to St. Hilary and the abbey church of the Holy Cross, where the Cross relic was still displayed. Physically removed from the relic of the True Cross by her burial outside the walls, Radegund's tomb was now the source of miracles that previously had been associated with the relic.

The relic played a minor role in the tumultuous years following Radegund's death. Several nuns—all daughters of Merovingian kings—revolted against a new abbess, hired mercenaries and terrorized the town before ultimately and unsuccessfully invoking the relic for protection.⁶² Following this, there is no

⁵⁷ Frolov, *La relique*, pp. 161–2.

⁵⁸ Van Dam, *Saints and their Miracles*, p. 34.

⁵⁹ Gregory of Tours, *GM*, trans. Van Dam, *GM*, p.104; Baudonivia, *Vita Radegundis*, 2.23, trans. McNamara and Halborg, *Sainted Women*, p. 103.

⁶⁰ For the funeral, including the crying out of demons, see Gregory of Tours, *GC*, 104, trans. Van Dam, *GC*, pp. 105–8. For the cures during the funeral procession, see Baudonivia, *Vita Radegundis*, 2.24, trans. McNamara and Halborg, *Sainted Women*, p. 103.

⁶¹ This designation may have been in common use much earlier, as Baudonivia refers repeatedly to Radegund's tomb as "basilica dominae Radegundis." Miraculous cures were also posthumously achieved by objects associated with Radegund, including her funeral shroud and hair shirt: see Baudonivia, *Vita Radegundis* 2.26, 28, trans. McNamara and Halborg, *Sainted Women*, pp. 104–5. For the complex history of the church of Ste. Radegund, see C.H. Kneepkens, "À propos des débuts de l'histoire de l'église funéraire Sainte-Radegonde de Poitiers," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale, Xe–XIIe siècles (CahCM)* 29/4 (1986): 331–8.

⁶² Gregory of Tours, *HF*, 9.39–43, trans. Thorpe, *HF*, pp. 526–38. For a comprehensive discussion of the revolt with bibliography, see Van Dam, *Saints and their Miracles*, pp. 36–40. Favreau, ed., *Histoire de Poitiers*, p. 84. For the difficulties created by royal nuns, see G. Scheibelreiter, "Königstöchter im Kloster: Radegund (ob. 587) und der Nonnenaufstand

evidence of any relic of the Cross in Poitiers until 1476, and no Poitevin Cross relic is associated with Radegund until the late sixteenth–early seventeenth century.

Control of the abbey passed to the bishop of Poitiers but it continued to enjoy royal support. Rotrudis, a daughter of Charles the Bald, became abbess of the Holy Cross in the ninth century. Soon thereafter the convent adopted the Benedictine rule, and St. Radegund's outside the walls was occupied by canons.⁶³ Its physical location made it vulnerable to attack and St. Radegund's was destroyed in the Norman invasions.⁶⁴ In the chaotic aftermath, knowledge of the location of Radegund's tomb was lost and the basilica of St. Hilary again became the primary focus of local devotion. Radegund's tomb was not rediscovered until 1012.⁶⁵

This rediscovery ushered in a period of renewed interest in the royal nun. A new and enlarged church was erected over her tomb. An illuminated copy of Fortunatus's *Life of Radegund* (Poitiers, Bibl. Mun., MS 250) was produced in a Poitiers scriptorium in the late eleventh or early twelfth centuries, aiding in the dissemination of her cult.⁶⁶ The final verso in the last gathering of this book features a portrait of Baudonivia, similar to the portrait of Fortunatus with which the manuscript begins. Magdalena Carrasco has noted that despite the composite nature of the manuscript, the portrait of Baudonivia suggests that there was originally an illustrated text of her *Life* appended to that written by Fortunatus.⁶⁷ This is important for tracing the legend of Radegund's Cross relic—we remember that while it is not mentioned by Fortunatus, Baudoniva describes in detail its acquisition, arrival in Poitiers and the miracles it

von Poitiers (589)," *Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung* (MittIOG) 87 (1979): 1–37.

⁶³ Kneepkens, "À propos," p. 333.

⁶⁴ Favreau, ed., *Histoire de Poitiers*, p. 84.

⁶⁵ The search for the tomb was led by Beliardis, abbess of the church of the Holy Cross. See Kneepkens, "À propos," pp. 334–5; Favreau, ed., *Histoire de Poitiers*, p. 99. Later in the century an earthquake and fire necessitated yet another reconstruction, and the church was rededicated in 1099. The date of the rededication is interesting, as it was in 1099 that the Latin armies of the First Crusade took Jerusalem, established a Latin Patriarchate there, and invented a relic of the True Cross, found in the floor of the Holy Sepulcher. Without further evidence this will have to be viewed as a (very interesting) coincidence. For the invention of the True Cross in Jerusalem see Frolow, *La relique*, pp. 176–7.

⁶⁶ For the manuscript and other related works in the Bibliothèque municipale of Poitiers, see Robert Favreau, ed., *La vie de Sainte Radegonde par Fortunat: Poitiers, Bibliothèque Municipale, manuscrit 250 (136)* (Poitiers, 1969). In addition to the surviving text of Fortunatus, the volume also includes segments of Gregory of Tours's descriptions of Radegund's death and funeral (fols. 44–7); liturgical texts (fols. 1–20, 47v–73); and foundation documents for both the church of the Holy Cross and St. Radegund's (fols. 73v–79). An argument for the production of the *Vita* of Fortunatus by, "or at least for," the nuns of the Holy Cross is made by Magdalena Elizabeth Carrasco, "Spirituality in context: The Romanesque illustrated life of St. Radegund of Poitiers (Poitiers, Bibl. Mun., MS 250)," *Art Bulletin* 72/3 (1990): 414–35, p. 435.

⁶⁷ Carrasco, "Spirituality in context," p. 415.

performed there. Thus, while we have no contemporary evidence for the physical presence of the Cross in Poitiers following the Norman invasions, Baudonivia's text would, I suggest, have insured that its memory was kept alive.

A priory dedicated to Radegund in Cambridge, England, on the site where Jesus College now stands confirms the geographic reach of her pious reputation. Founded in the mid-twelfth century by Malcolm IV, king of Scotland, it provides proof of the enduring attraction that Radegund's cult had for the elite.⁶⁸ She remained equally popular with the less fortunate; a thirteenth-century text records a series of miracles associated with her tomb, documenting its increased veneration by the local faithful.⁶⁹ In the fourteenth century a stained-glass cycle based on the illuminated miniatures of Fortunatus's *Life* of Radegund was commissioned for the church of St. Radegund. In the early fifteenth century the tomb was opened at the request of Jean, Duc de Berry and Count of Poitou (1372–1416).⁷⁰

In short, the cult of Radegund was thriving; but for four centuries after the rediscovery of her tomb there is no contemporary, surviving mention of any relic of the True Cross or Byzantine reliquary. It is not until 1476 that a golden chasse and a triptych reliquary containing a relic of the True Cross are listed in the inventories of the Church of the Holy Cross.⁷¹ This entry, however, does not associate the chasse, reliquary or Cross with Radegund. The earliest surviving document linking these objects to Radegund is dated to the late sixteenth–early seventeenth centuries, shortly after the church was damaged in the Protestant Reformation.⁷² Although Radegund is said to have “received” these objects, neither Byzantium nor any other source is specifically mentioned.

Pen and ink drawings of the reliquary, shown both open and closed, were made in 1740 at the request of the bishop Fonteneau (Figures 5.3, 5.4); they are now in the collection of Poitiers' Bibliothèque Municipale (MS 547, fol. 165). A note accompanying the drawings states “this is the reliquary of the True Cross sent from the emperor Justin to St. Radegund and drawn exactly

⁶⁸ The priory was dedicated c. 1157–64; see F. Brittain, *Jesus College, Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1940), pp. 13–14.

⁶⁹ Carrasco, “Spirituality in Context,” p. 431. L. Coudanne, “Regards sur la vie liturgique à Sainte-Croix de Poitiers,” *Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest* 4/14 (1978): 355, 364–5, suggests that these feast days reflect practices earlier than the thirteenth century.

⁷⁰ E. Briand, *Histoire de sainte Radegonde, reine de France, et des sanctuaires et pèlerinages en son honneur* (Brussels, 1909).

⁷¹ For the earliest transcription of the inventories, see X. Barbier de Montault, *Le Trésor de l'abbaye de Ste.-Croix de Poitiers* (Poitiers, 1882), discussed in Piotr Skubiszewski, “La Staurorhèque de Poitiers,” *CahCM* 35/1 (1992): 65–75.

⁷² Jannic Durand, “Le reliquaire de la Vraie Croix de Poitiers,” *Bulletin de la Société nationale des antiquaires de France* (1992): 166, n. 34.

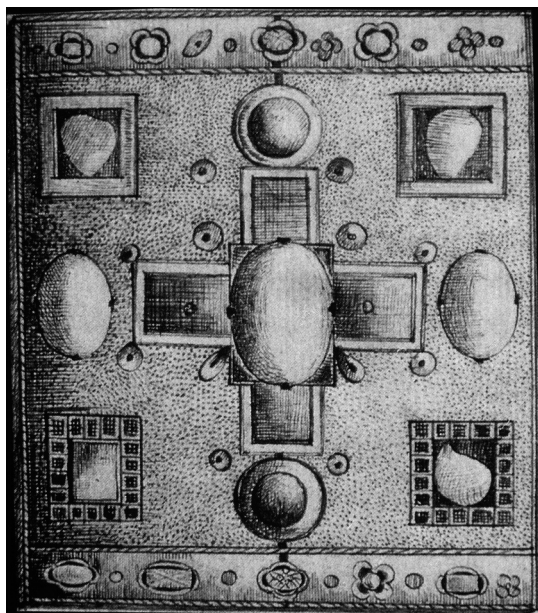


Fig. 5.3 Drawing of the True Cross reliquary of Radegund, closed. Pen and ink, c. 1740. Poitiers, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 547.

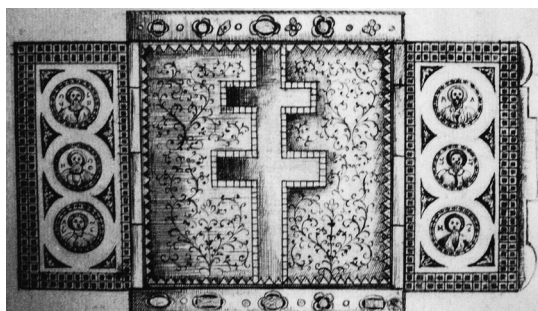


Fig. 5.4 Drawing of the True Cross reliquary of Radegund, open. Pen and ink, c. 1740. Poitiers, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 547.

from the original, which is in the abbey treasury."⁷³ This seemingly sudden emergence of Byzantine provenance suggests that the details of Radegund's appeal to the imperial court were kept alive, orally or through texts, throughout the later medieval period.

The golden reliquary listed in the inventory of 1740 was lost in 1792, but its appearance is recorded in an anonymous eighteenth-century painting titled *St. Radegund Receiving the Relics of the Holy Cross* (Figure 5.5).⁷⁴ Certainly the chase depicted in the painting is not Radegund's sixth-century container, which, as described by Gregory of Tours, was made of silver and not gold. In terms of form and style, the chase of the painting is unmistakably a product of the late Carolingian period. It was likely produced by a workshop of Charles the Bald and brought to Poitiers by his daughter, the abbess Rotrudis.⁷⁵ The Carolingian reliquary literally takes center stage in the painting—its importance is conveyed by its size, which is several times larger than any such surviving container, and by the careful replication of each gem, jewel and cameo, suggesting that the anonymous artist was copying an object in the abbey's possession (Figure 5.6). One looks in vain for any reference to Byzantium.

⁷³ Poitiers. Bibl. Mun. MS 547, II, 164, Durand, "Le reliquaire," p. 155, n. 6.

⁷⁴ The painting is now housed in the Abbey of the Holy Cross, which relocated to Saint Benoit (Vienne), just outside Poitiers, in 1965.

⁷⁵ Skubiszewski, "La Staurotheque de Poitiers," discusses the comparanda, pp. 69–70.



Fig. 5.5 Anonymous, *St. Radegund Receiving the Relics of the Holy Cross*. Eighteenth century. Oil on canvas.

Justin—or Sophia—is not recognizably present; and although the identification of the man presenting the relic is not given, he wears robes typical of a bishop in the Catholic Church.⁷⁶

Radegund's royal status is emphasized in the painting. She wears an ermine-lined cloak decorated with fleur-de-lis—quite different from the hair shirt, sackcloth and ashes described by Baudonivia as her usual garb—and her crown is set prominently on a cushion in the foreground.⁷⁷ This is Radegund as French queen. The legitimization of her rank is no longer dependent on recognition by Byzantium, which, of course, had fallen to the Ottomans long before the creation of this painting. It may be suggested that this painting shows the final stage in the hagiographical evolution begun by Baudonivia. We see here not the royal nun of Gregory of Tours or Fortunatus—pious, but also willful and headstrong—but Baudonivia's regal queen. Whereas Gregory compared Radegund and Helena in "faith and merit," Baudonivia tempered her comparison with

⁷⁶ The central male figure bears a striking resemblance to some contemporary portraits of St. Peter. The cathedral of Poitiers was by this time dedicated to St. Peter, and it would fit in nicely with my overall thesis that the Byzantine provenance is now jettisoned—if not before—in favor of one more national.

⁷⁷ Baudonivia, *Vitae Radegundis*, 4, 8, trans. McNamara and Halborg, *Sainted Women*, pp. 88, 91.

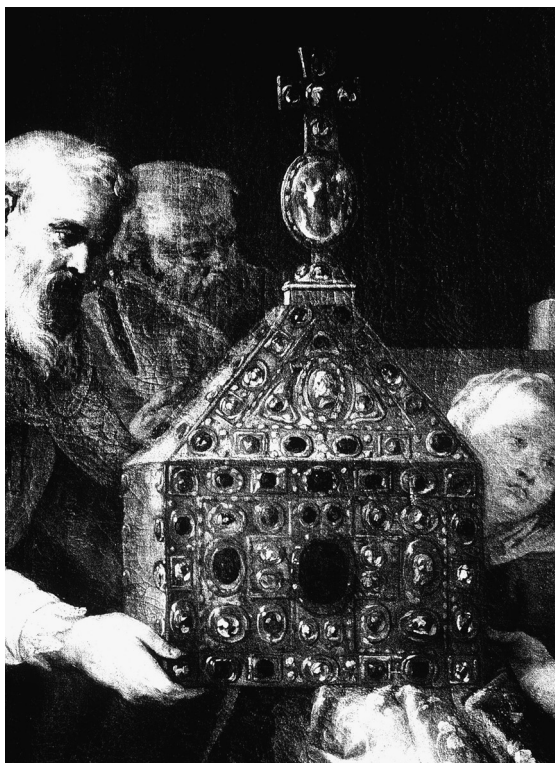


Fig. 5.6 Anonymous, *St. Radegund Receiving the Relics of the Holy Cross*, detail. Eighteenth century. Oil on canvas.

political motives. "What Helena had done in the East, Radegund did for Gaul." She wished to acquire the Cross "for the welfare of the whole fatherland and the stability of the kingdom."⁷⁸ In Baudonivia's textual presentation we find a version of Radegund that would eventually find full visual expression in the painting: a queen not seeking relics for herself or for her convent, but for the benefit of her country.

While the chasse depicted in the painting is lost, the central panel of the triptych reliquary it once contained is preserved in the Abbey of the Holy Cross⁷⁹ (Figure 5.7 = Plate 8). The surviving panel is clearly Byzantine in technique and iconography. It is executed in gold and cloisonné enamel and features a central recess in the shape of a two-barred cross. As we have seen, the original appearance of the reliquary is known from the drawing made

in 1740. The wings' inner faces featured six medallions containing the busts of saints, identified with partial Greek inscriptions.⁸⁰ When closed, the wings formed a raised Greek cross.

In 1881 X. Barbier de Montault identified this reliquary with that which had been presented to Radegund by Justin II, and the surviving panel was widely

⁷⁸ Baudonivia, *Vitae Radegundis*, 16, 10, trans. McNamara and Halborg, *Sainted Women*, pp. 96–7, 92.

⁷⁹ The dimensions of the plaque are 58 × 55 mm. The original triptych reliquary was disassembled and the wings were taken from the convent in 1792 and subsequently lost. Jannic Durand, ed. *Byzance: L'art byzantin dans les collections publiques françaises*, Musée du Louvre, 3 novembre 1992–1er février 1993 (Paris, 1992), pp. 326–7; Skubiszewski, "La Staurorhèque de Poitiers," pp. 65–75.

⁸⁰ The drawing was made by Leonard Fonteneau. Durand, "Le reliquaire," p. 156 n. 10, identifies the saints in the medallions as, from bottom to top, left to right: Luke, John, Peter, Matthew, Mark, Paul. I suggest that this is likely but not definite, as the Greek inscriptions are not fully legible in the drawing.

celebrated as the earliest extant example of Byzantine cloisonné enamel.⁸¹ However, work by David Buckton and others has demonstrated conclusively that the reliquary was produced in the eleventh or twelfth century.⁸² It may be suggested that, like many other Byzantine reliquaries now in Europe, this triptych most probably came to France after 1204 in the wake of the sack of Constantinople by the armies of the Fourth Crusade. While it is possible that this reliquary once housed Radegund's fragment of the True Cross, it is more likely that the reliquary arrived in Poitiers already equipped with a Constantinopolitan fragment.⁸³

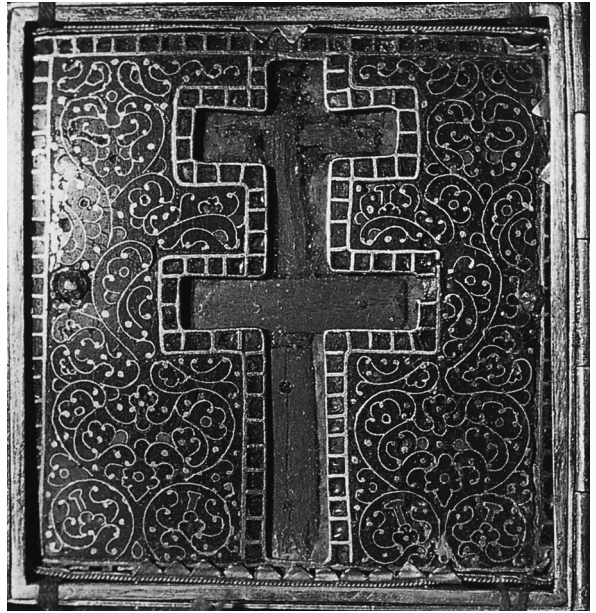


Fig. 5.7 True Cross reliquary of Radegund, central panel. Enamel and wood, eleventh century.

There are, then, two separate sets of Byzantine relics of the True Cross associated with Radegund. The first, dating to Radegund's lifetime, was acquired from the imperial court, enclosed within a jeweled reliquary of Byzantine manufacture. It was housed in a silver *chasse* and displayed in the oratory of the abbey church of the Holy Cross. The fate of these objects is not known; most likely they were seized in the Norman invasions. In Radegund's time the emphasis on the Byzantine origin of the Cross relic, conveyed visually by the Byzantine-produced reliquary and preserved in public memory and in contemporary writings, served to confirm and increase Radegund's stature and authority by locating her rank in the Christian *oikumene*. On this level the relic's secular associations with Byzantium were given primacy over its pious

⁸¹ See Skubiszewski, "La Staurothèque," esp. pp. 66–8, for the pre-existing oral tradition in the abbey linking the relic to Radegund.

⁸² Frolow, *La relique*, pp. 179–80, suggested that it was no earlier than the tenth century. The definitive technical analysis and dating is provided by David Buckton in "Byzantine enamels in the twentieth century," in *Byzantine Style, Religion and Civilization: In Honour of Sir Steven Runciman*, ed. Elizabeth Jeffreys (Cambridge, 2006), pp. 25–37.

⁸³ There are many surviving examples of relics of the Cross brought back by Crusaders, including those now at Limburg an der Lahn, San Marco, Venice; and the Fieschi-Morgan reliquary now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. See Frolow, *La relique*, pp. 233–7, 249–50, 296–7.

associations and its links with Eastern Orthodoxy. This wonder-working relic, coupled with the personality of Radegund herself, made the abbey church the focus of local and regional pilgrimage.

The second Cross relic was enclosed within an eleventh- or twelfth-century Byzantine triptych reliquary, and by 1476 was housed in a golden chasse produced in the late Carolingian period. Fifteenth- and eighteenth-century documents confirm that the abbey maintained the tradition that these objects were precisely those presented to Radegund by the Byzantine court. I suggest that this textual emphasis on the Byzantine provenance of the reliquary and the relic it held served to connect them with Radegund—to prove that it was her relic—and to further promote her cult. Byzantium now served only to provide a link, as it were, in the chain of evidence stretching back to Radegund.⁸⁴

Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century documents confirm the increased veneration of Radegund and the proliferation of secondary relics associated with her, including her hairshirt, comb, plate and prayer desk.⁸⁵ It does not go too far to state that, by the sixteenth century, the Poitiers relic of the True Cross became an attribute of Radegund. Without further evidence it is not possible to know when the late Carolingian chasse first became associated with the twelfth-century Byzantine triptych, but is tempting to see in their union a deliberate attempt to visually recreate the textual descriptions of Radegund's sixth-century relic, reliquary and chasse, as preserved in writings still popular ten centuries later.⁸⁶

⁸⁴ It may be that the prominence given the Carolingian container in the eighteenth-century painting serves the same purpose—it provides a tangible link with the abbey's, and Radegund's, past.

⁸⁵ For a discussion of the cult of Radegund in this period see Magdalena Elizabeth Carrasco, "Sanctity and experience in pictorial hagiography," in *Images of Sainthood in Medieval Europe*, ed. R. Blumenfeld-Kosinski and T. Szell (Ithaca, NY, 1991), pp. 61–6. In 1562 the church was desecrated by Protestant riots, necessitating reconstruction. The sixteenth century was another period of revival of interest in St. Radegund and, more specifically, in her secondary relics. These are in addition to the manuscript and stained glass cycle cited above, and to wall paintings, cited in E. Briand, *Histoire de sainte Radegonde reine de France et des sanctuaries et pèlerinage en son honneur* (Paris/Poitiers, 1898), pp. 93, 133, 301–3. For the architectural reconstructions of Ste. Radegund's during the Gothic period, see A. Mussat, *Le style gothique de l'ouest* (Paris, 1963), pp. 264–7. In 1988 a team of archaeologists were allowed to open Radegund's tomb. They found a female skeleton enclosed within a Carolingian or Romanesque coffin, most likely added c. 1012 when the saint's tomb was rediscovered.

⁸⁶ Evidence for this continued popularity is seen in MS 250, which was assembled into its present form in the sixteenth century. The existence of a thirteenth-century copy is also known through an eighteenth-century manuscript (MS 252) now also housed in Poitiers. Carrasco, "Spirituality in context," p. 415.

Afterlife of the Rhodes Hand of St. John the Baptist

Ida Sinkević

The Rhodes Hand of St. John the Baptist is the relic of the right Hand and arm of the saint, preserved almost intact except for two fingers that were dismembered during its turbulent history.¹ It is presently located in the monastery in Cetinje, a small town in Montenegro distinguished for its rich history, but situated in a remote karstian plain enclosed by mountains. In addition, the Hand is mostly inaccessible to viewers because it is displayed above the remains of a local saint, Peter of Cetinje, in a coffin that, for security reasons, is almost always kept closed.

The Hand is enshrined in a sumptuous golden coffer, approximately 45 cm long and 25 cm wide (Figure 6.1 = Plate 9). The lid is made of glass, framed by richly decorated metalwork comprised of embossed coats of arms, foliage, and garlands, and embellished by diamond “flowers” on the corners and large sapphires surrounded with diamonds on the sides. Two angels in high relief are placed at the top, punctuating the extended fingers of the saint’s Hand underneath.² The reliquary is dated to the eighteenth century, commissioned by Emperor Paul I of Russia (1754–1801) and executed by Russian goldsmiths when the relic resided there on one of its many journeys.³

The Hand endured a turbulent and adventurous afterlife that spanned more than 2,000 years of intense travels, political intrigues, mysterious

¹ The term ‘Rhodes Hand’ appears only in the twentieth century. For the most part of its afterlife, despite the phenomenon of multiplication, it has been referred to as the Hand of the saint.

² Compared to a description of the reliquary dated in 1859 and kept in the archives of the State Public Library in St. Petersburg, the reliquary has been preserved in its original shape except for the now-missing Maltese Cross which was supposedly carried by angels; a small hole indicates its original location between the angels. The archival text with the description of the reliquary was published by Yuri Pyatnitsky, “Maltese relics in Russia,” in *Malta and Russia. Journey Through the Centuries: Historical Discoveries in Russo-Maltese Relations*, ed. Elizaveta Zolina (Valletta, 2002), p. 311.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 310–11.



Fig. 6.1 Reliquary containing the Rhodes Hand of St. John the Baptist.

exploits, and miraculous deeds. The examination of the many peregrinations of the relic and an analysis of numerous ways in which it was appropriated by its diverse owners are the subject of this discussion. Although it has been considered by scholars, the Hand has been treated in a piecemeal fashion, often tangential to other topics. Its history, especially during modern times, has been generally ignored and/or often misrepresented.⁴ This chapter aims to present, for the first time, the full history of the Rhodes Hand, with special emphasis on its afterlife, its exceptionality, and the ways in which it was adapted and acculturated to suit locally, socially, temporally, and religiously

⁴ History of the Rhodes Hand is mostly discussed in studies dedicated to the Hand's long-time traveling companion, the icon of the Virgin of Filermos and the relic of the True Cross. See Yuri Pyatnitsky, "Ikona filermoskoj Boziej Materi-svjatynja mal'tijskogo ordena," in *Rosiia i khristianskii vostok* (Moscow, 1997), pp. 24–37 (in Russian); and Giovanna Ferraris di Celle, *Die Madonna von Philermos: Präsentation zu dem gleichnamigen Buch von Giovanna Ferraris di Celle: Die Mariendarstellungen in den Malteserkirchen: Ausstellung im Maltesermuseum Mailberg* (Mailberg, 1993). The Hand also received tangential treatment in Pyatnitsky, "Maltese relics in Russia," pp. 303–15. The other major texts are either abbreviated as in Victor F. Denaro, "The Hand of John the Baptist," *Revue de l'Ordere Souverain Militaire de Malte* 16 (1958), pp. 33–8; or are specific to limited periods of the Hand's stay in Montenegro, as in Radomir Bulatović, *Najveće hrišćanske svetinje* (Cetinje, 1995) and Budo Simonović, *Tajne ostroškog blaga* (Cetinje and Belgrade, 2008). Since the Hand changed owners many times, various stages of its early history have been documented, as seen later in the text. The fate of the Hand in the late twentieth- and twenty-first centuries, however, is mostly known from media coverage.

diverse needs. In so doing, it will also illuminate the importance of this relic throughout its history, its incorporation in sacred and civic ceremonies, and its continued resonance into the present. I argue that the journeys of the Hand augmented its potency, distinguishing it from other, more stationary relics.

Early History of the Hand

The right Hand and arm of St. John the Baptist comprise an important relic because of the saint's supreme status within the Christian hierarchy. They also played an important role in crucial events of Christ's life, for the saint baptized Christ with this Hand, having previously identified him as the Savior and the Lamb of God on the banks of the River Jordan.⁵ As such, the Hand is considered among the highest-ranking objects in the hierarchy of Christian relics. However, as is the case with most relics, its history has no scriptural foundations and is known to us primarily from later sources.⁶

The earliest and most comprehensive account on the afterlife of the Hand is found in a tenth-century commemorative speech written by Theodore Daphnopoulos, a prominent official at the court of Romanos I (r. 920–44) and Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (r. 945–59).⁷ The historical accuracy of the story presented in this speech is questionable and, as stated by Daphnopoulos himself, based on old legends that were narrated and passed from one generation to another.⁸ The account is composed of many *topoi* typical of hagiographic literature, such as the dismemberment of the body and miraculous deeds of the relic. Its translation conforms to the *topos* of *furta sacra*, a necessary act sanctioned by both civil and ecclesiastic authorities that underscores its sacrality.⁹

According to Daphnopoulos, the afterlife of the Hand of St. John the Baptist began when St. Luke removed it from the Baptist's tomb near Sebaste and carried it to Antioch.¹⁰ During its 300-year stay in Antioch, the Hand escaped

⁵ For discussion and bibliography, see Ioli Kalavrezou, "Helping Hands for the empire: Imperial ceremonies and the cult of relics at the Byzantine court," in *Byzantine Court Culture from 829 to 1204*, ed. Henry Maguire (Washington, DC, 1997), pp. 53–80.

⁶ For a discussion of the historical accuracy of the texts about relics, see Patrick J. Geary, *Furta Sacra: Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1978).

⁷ The full text of this commemorative speech has been published in Greek and Russian in *Dve reči Feodora*, ed. V.V. Latyšev (St. Petersburg, 1910), pp. 17–38 (Greek) and 44–76 (Russian) [hereafter *Dve reči*].

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 61.

⁹ The literature on the cult of relics is vast. An abbreviated selection of texts with comprehensive bibliography includes but is by no means limited to John Wortley, *Studies on the Cult of Relics in Byzantium up to 1204* (Burlington, VT, 2009); Peter Brown, *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago, 1981); and Geary, *Furta Sacra*.

¹⁰ *Dve reči*, p. 62.

pagan destruction and, as might be expected, performed many miracles.¹¹ In one important miracle, Daphnopates informs us about the sacrificial ritual that involved killing a young maiden to feed a dragon that lived near the city and was venerated by the pagan population. One year, the father of the victim secretly bit off a small part of the saint's finger and fed it to the dragon, which choked on it and died.¹²

Apparently, the Hand could also predict the success of the harvest. On the day of saint's feast, the archbishop would take the Hand out of the shrine and hold it before the crowds of people.¹³ If the Hand appeared open, it meant a fertile year; if clenched, that was a prediction of famine.¹⁴

In 956, at the request of the Byzantine emperor, Constantine VII, the Hand was brought to Constantinople from Antioch with great pomp and ceremony. The translation occurred on Epiphany (January 6), one of the major Church holidays which, in the Orthodox Church, is dedicated to the Baptism of Christ. According to Daphnopates, a young deacon tricked the treasurer of the church in Antioch, where the Hand was kept, gave him too much wine, and stole the Hand. He carried it first to Chalcedon and then, following the wishes of the emperor, to Constantinople.¹⁵ Daphnopates does not mention where the relic was deposited, but one can gauge that information from later sources. According to the eleventh-century Byzantine historian John Skylitzes, the relic was carried to the imperial palace, where it was still held in 1150.¹⁶ In addition, a Russian traveler to Constantinople, Anthony of Novgorod, reports that it was located in the church of the Virgin of Pharos in c. 1200.¹⁷ Considering that the church of the Virgin of Pharos was an imperial chapel that housed many precious relics, it was an appropriate location for the Hand as well. The translation of the Hand to the chapel simultaneously reinforced the emperor's power to bring the precious object to Constantinople and the potency of the relic.

Daphnopates' commemorative speech was commissioned by Constantine VII. In addition to its religious significance, the speech has been also recognized for its propagandistic and political function in forming the identity of the

¹¹ Ibid., pp. 62–3.

¹² Ibid., pp. 65–6. The story was augmented in later times, and the dragon got the whole thumb instead of just a piece of a finger. See Clavijo, *Embassy to Tamerlane 1403–1406*, trans. Guy le Strange (London, 1928), pp. 65–6.

¹³ The text does not specify the feast. There are two major feasts dedicated to St. John: the Nativity (June 24) and the Beheading (August 29). Also, in the Orthodox Church, Christ's baptism is celebrated on the feast of the Epiphany (January 6).

¹⁴ *Dve reči*, pp. 67–80.

¹⁵ Ibid., pp. 68–70.

¹⁶ Paul Edouard Didier Riant, *Exuviae sacrae Constantinopolitanae* II (Paris, 1878), pp. 212, 214.

¹⁷ Antoine de Novgorod, *Le Livre du Pèlerin* (1200), in *Itinéraires russes en Orient*, ed. Sofia Petrovna Khitrovo (Osnabrück, 1966), p. 98.

Byzantine emperor as an ideal Christian ruler. In her convincing interpretation of this text in conjunction with the relic, Ioli Kalavrezou discusses the importance of the cult of St. John for the ruling dynasty and the significance of the relic as a symbolic embodiment of the saint in blessing, legitimizing, and enhancing the power of Constantine's rule.¹⁸

It should also be noted, however, that Daphnopates' text *constructed* a history for the relic itself and thus popularized it in the public domain of the tenth-century Byzantine capital. The text, apocryphal in nature, provided the basis for many later accounts. In fact, the veracity of the text and the fact of the relic's presence in Constantinople, sanctioned by the imperial authority of Constantine VII, were taken for granted and were implicit in its subsequent history. During Constantine's rule, the narrative about the Hand, largely based on Daphnopates, was included in the Synaxarion, a liturgical book containing short narratives of the lives of the saints of the day used in the Christian Orthodox Church.¹⁹ Significantly, the translation of the relic has been celebrated in the Orthodox Church on January 7, the day after its translation from Antioch, attesting to the historical importance of this event.²⁰ The numinous event was also illustrated in the twelfth-century version of the *Skyllitzes Chronicles* now kept in Madrid (Madrid, BN, Codex Vitr. 26–2 fol. 138r).²¹

While in Constantinople, the Hand was visited by pilgrims, carried in processions, and, according to Anthony of Novgorod, even used in imperial coronations.²² Although contemporary sources provide extensive evidence on the connections between the rite of baptism and imperial coronations, the actual use of the Hand of St. John the Baptist during the coronation ceremony is mentioned only by Anthony.²³ It is significant that Anthony of Novgorod also states that the reliquary Hand of the Constantinopolitan patriarch Germanos, found in the church of Hagia Sophia, was apparently used for the investiture of the patriarchs.²⁴ Thus, while it would be difficult to prove the

¹⁸ Kalavrezou, "Helping Hands," especially pp. 75–9. See also John Wortley, "Relics of the 'Friends of Jesus' at Constantinople," in *Byzance et les reliques du Christ*, ed. J. Durand and B. Flusin (Paris, 2004), pp. 143–57, reprinted in *Studies on the Cult of Relics in Byzantium up to 1204* (Burlington, VT, 2009), Ch. 14.

¹⁹ For a discussion about the date of the Synaxarion, see Kalavrezou, "Helping Hands," p. 77, n. 99; and Ihor Ševčenko, "Re-reading Constantine Porphyrogenitus," in *Byzantine Diplomacy: Papers from the Twenty-Fourth Symposium of Byzantine Studies*, Cambridge (Aldershot, 1992), p. 188.

²⁰ The feast of the translation of the relic was postponed for a day so that it does not coincide with the feast of Epiphany celebrated on January 6. See H. Delehay, *Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae: Propylaeum ad Acta SS Novembris* (Brussels, 1902), pp. 375–6; see also Justin Sp. Popović, *Žitija svetih za mesec januar* (Belgrade, 1972), pp. 227–31.

²¹ Vasiliki Tsamakda, *The Illustrated Chronicle of Ioannes Skylitzes in Madrid* (Leiden 2002), pp. 177–8, fig. 333.

²² Antoine de Novgorod, *Livre du Pèlerin*, p. 88.

²³ For a discussion and bibliography, see Kalavrezou, "Helping Hands," pp. 72–5.

²⁴ Antoine de Novgorod, *Livre du Pèlerin*, p. 88.

exact activity of the Hand, it appears that it was conceptually related to these imperial and sacred rituals.

After 1204, the Hand was moved from the church of the Virgin of Pharos to the church of the Virgin Peribleptos in Constantinople. It was seen at the Peribleptos by many travelers, including Stephen of Novgorod (1348–49), Ignatius of Smolensk (1389), Alexander the Clerk (1391–97), and Zosima the Deacon (1419–22).²⁵ By that time the Hand had suffered the loss of two fingers, one of which Anthony of Novgorod described in the Studion Monastery.²⁶ Moreover, following the Fourth Crusade and the Sack of Constantinople in 1204, the Hand of St. John, like many other important relics, seems to have multiplied and subsequently appeared at many locations, both east and west. The exact number of “true” right Hands is difficult to determine. At least five others—located in Châteaudun, Cîteaux, Siena, Istanbul, and Barcelona—are mentioned in various sources; however, they have been either lost or settled in their respective locations since at least the seventeenth century.²⁷ Unlike these

²⁵ See George P. Majeska, *Russian Travelers to Constantinople in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (Washington DC, 1984), pp. 40, 96, 146, 164, 186.

²⁶ Antoine de Novgorod, *Livre du Pèlerin*, p. 90.

²⁷ The now lost gold reliquary in the shape of a Hand, containing a wrist bone of St. John, was recorded in the seventeenth century in the monastery of Saint Madeleine at Châteaudun. It displayed an epigram attributed to Ana Komnene. See Jean Ebersolt, *Sanctuaires de Byzance* (Paris, 1921), pp. 134–6; Charles Dufresne du Cange, *Historia Byzantina duplici commentario illustrata: Prior familias ac stemmata imperatorum Constantinopolitanorum, cum eorundem Augustorum nomismatibus, & aliquot iconibus; praeterea familias Dalmaticas & Turcicas complectitur Alter descriptionem urbis Constantinopolitanae, qualis extitit sub imperatoribus Christianis* (Brussels, 1964), Book 4, p. 104; and Brigitte Pitarakis, “Female piety in context: Understanding developments in private devotional practices,” in *Images of the Mother of God: Perceptions of the Theotokos in Byzantium*, ed. Maria Vassilaki (London, 2005), pp. 160–62.

The Hand from which the Châteaudun wrist bone was apparently detached was believed to have been kept in the treasury of the monastery of Cîteaux. Later sources indicate that it was given to Cîteaux in 1263. The inscription on the reliquary relates this Hand to Constantine VII. It too has been lost. See Ebersolt, *Sanctuaires*, pp. 134–6.

A third Hand is preserved in the treasury of the cathedral in Siena. Its reliquary displays an inscription in Old Church Slavonic dedicated to Sava, the archbishop of Serbia. The Hand is believed to have once belonged to the treasury of the monastery of Žiča in medieval Serbia. See Danica Popović, “*Sacrae Reliquiae* Spasove crkve u Žiči,” in *Manastir Žiča: Zbornik Radova*, ed. Gojko Subotić (Kraljevo, 2000), pp. 17–31 reprinted in Danica Popović, *Under the Auspices of Sanctity: The Cult of Holy Rulers and Relics in Medieval Serbia* (in Serbian with a concluding chapter in English) (Belgrade, 2006), pp. 207–33. See also Timothy B. Smith, “Up in arms: The Knights of Rhodes, the cult of relics, and the Chapel of St. John the Baptist in Siena Cathedral,” in *Images, Relics, and Devotional Practices in Medieval and Renaissance Italy*, ed. Sally J. Cornelison and Scott B. Montgomery (Tempe, AZ, 2005), pp. 222–6.

Another account recalls that “in 1436 St. John’s baptizing arm was kept at the Hospitallers’ church of St. John in Barcelona.” Nothing else is known about this relic. See Smith, “Up in arms,” p. 219, n. 29. The fifth Hand is now kept in the Topkapi Museum in Istanbul. Depending on the source, both the Topkapi hand Hand and the Rhodes Hand are believed to have been the “true” hand Hand that was presented to the Knights of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem as a diplomatic gift of peace offering in 1484. Enshrined in a reliquary that resembles the shape of an arm, the Topkapi hand was apparently returned to the Ottomans by Sultan Murad III in 1585 and has been kept in Istanbul ever since. See

other, more stationary, relics, the Rhodes Hand, significantly, appears to have maintained its mobility. Moreover, a lengthy succession of prominent owners perpetually reinvigorated its potency, while the broad geographic spread of the Hand's many voyages afforded it world-wide recognition well into the present.

The Hand at Rhodes

The Rhodes Hand received its name because it came into the possession of the Knights of Rhodes, later named the Knights of Malta and also known as the Sovereign Order of St. John or Knights Hospitallers. Founded in 1113 and dedicated to the Baptist, the Knights were a monastic order, originally located in the hospital church of St. John near the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem.²⁸ In the beginning, their major activity was the care of the large number of exhausted pilgrims who reached the Holy Land. With the Muslim conquest of Jerusalem in 1187 and the Fall of Acre in 1291, the Order retreated first to Cyprus and subsequently, in 1310, to the island of Rhodes. They became proponents of the Crusades and their mission expanded to include military campaigns against the infidel.²⁹ While in Jerusalem, the Order was recognized for its veneration and protection of sacred places and objects.³⁰ Following the loss of property after abandoning their homeland, the Knights pursued the collecting of relics with fervor and enthusiasm: the acquisition of sacred objects authenticated both their venerable Christian roots and longstanding role as defenders of Christianity.³¹ Needless to say, the presence of relics had its economic value too, as it drew pilgrims and visitors to the island.

The Knights received the Hand of the Baptist in 1484, four years after their famous victory over the overwhelmingly stronger Turkish army.³² The ownership of the relic held a special significance for the Order: by possessing the Hand, the knights confirmed and ensured the protection of the Baptist himself. Moreover, the gift came at an opportune time, sanctioning not only the Knights' own distinctive heritage but also their recent victory over the

Hilmi Aydin, *Pavilion of the Sacred Relics: The Sacred Trusts. Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul* (Istanbul, 2004), p. 150; and Kalavrezou, "Helping Hands," pp. 53–80.

²⁸ The literature on the Knights is vast. For a comprehensive bibliography, see J. Mizzi, *The Order of St. John in Malta* (Valletta, 1970), pp. 108–204.

²⁹ For an attempt of the Knights to regain the Holy Land and their support of the popes in these efforts during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, see H.J.A. Sire, *The Knights of Malta* (New Haven, 1994), pp. 6–39; see also Smith, "Up in arms," p. 215.

³⁰ See Anthony Luttrell, "The spiritual life of the Hospitallers," *Ordines Militares* 7 (1993), pp. 75–96, especially p. 84; reprinted in Anthony Luttrell, *The Hospitaller State on Rhodes and its Western Provinces, 1306–1462* (Aldershot, 1999), Ch. 9.

³¹ Ibid.

³² This translation and the circumstances surrounding it are vividly narrated in Roger Peyrefitte, *Knights of Malta* (New York, 1959), pp. 56–64.

Turks. With Islam as one of the major threats to fifteenth-century western Europe, this victory was celebrated by both secular and church authorities. The event invigorated the cult of St. John within the Order which then spread through western Europe.³³

The Siege of Rhodes (1480) and the acquisition of the Hand were immortalized in both art and literature. Like the Byzantines, the Knights used all available means to ensure that their precious possession was not only well cared for, but also well publicized. Shortly after the siege, in 1480, Guillaume Caoursin (1430–1501), eyewitness to the event and vice-chancellor of the Order, wrote the historical account of the Knights' victory over the Ottoman Turks—the *Descriptio obsidione Rhodiae*.³⁴ He also composed commentaries on the events that followed the siege of 1480, including the circumstances surrounding the translation of the Hand.³⁵ These texts were combined in the *Rhodiorum historia* (1480–1489), an illustrated edition printed in 1496 which included two depictions of the translation of Hand. The first woodcut displays the official ceremony when the Ottoman envoy, Cariati Bey, presented the relic to the Grand Master Pierre d'Abusson.³⁶ Held by both the Grand Master and the Ottoman envoy, the relic forms the center of the composition, its prominent placement emphasizing its utmost importance. The relic is also the central image of the second woodcut. This time it is held by two angels. Moreover, yet another angel is included in the scene, depicted as apparently whispering in the Turkish envoy's ear. The scene was intended to emphasize the divine intervention in the translation of this important relic, thus justifying the ownership of the Knights.³⁷

From the perspective of the history of the relic, it is significant that, in addition to spiritual and propagandistic values, the Hand, in the course of its translation from Constantinople to Rhodes, also acquired monetary value. It was sent by Sultan Bajazet II (r. 1481–1512) along with a large sum of money as a peace offering.³⁸ The generosity of the Sultan (who, by then, was planning a counterattack) was in large part prompted by his younger brother, Prince Djem, who contested Bajazet's claim to the throne; having been defeated, the prince received asylum from the Knights of Rhodes. In addition to giving the relic, Bajazet kept paying for many years, under the pretext of the "lodging

³³ For a discussion about the Knights' devotion to St. John the Baptist, see Smith, "Up in arms," pp. 216–18.

³⁴ Caoursin's text was printed in multiple editions and translated into many languages. It also survives in manuscript form. See Theresa M. Vann, "Guillame Caoursin's *Descriptio obsidione Rhodiae* and the archives of the Knights of Malta," in *The Crusades and the Military Orders: Expanding the Frontiers of Medieval Latin Christianity*, ed. Zsolt Hunyadi and Jozsef Laszlovsky (Budapest, 2001), pp. 108–19.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 113–19.

³⁶ Reproduced in Smith, "Up in arms," p. 220, fig. 1.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 221, fig. 2.

³⁸ Peyrefitte, *Knights of Malta*, pp. 56–64.

and board" for Prince Djem, who was to become "guest in perpetuity to the Grand Master of Rhodes."³⁹ Although the Order decided to remove Djem from Rhodes to a safer location, the relic remained in its possession for centuries to come.⁴⁰ The Order sent a delegation of the highest dignitaries, including Caoursin himself, to Constantinople to establish the authenticity of the Hand; according to their report, it passed the test.⁴¹ Through the act of authentication, the Hand became one of the most prized possessions of the Order.

The Knights' victory was short-lived, and Rhodes was conquered by the Ottoman Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent (r. 1520–66) in 1522.⁴² The defeated Knights departed, carrying with them, thanks to the generosity of the victorious Sultan, a few most precious possessions—including the Hand, which became intimately connected with the history of the Order, and a relic of the True Cross.⁴³ The famous icon of the Virgin of Filermo accompanied them as well.⁴⁴ The icon received its name from the sanctuary on Mount Filermo on the island of Rhodes. It was an object of popular devotion prior to the arrival of the Knights in 1306. Believed to have been painted by St. Luke himself, the icon was revered on the island by both Latins and Greeks.⁴⁵

The history and iconography of the icon of the Virgin of Filermo represent a subject beyond the span of this chapter. For our purposes, it is important to emphasize that the Knights embraced and appropriated the icon very shortly after their arrival on the island of Rhodes. Like the relics, it too helped in authenticating their Christian heritage and their role in protecting and preserving it. In addition, the relic of the True Cross, the miraculous icon of the Virgin of Filermo, and the Hand held exceptional significance for the Knights. According to Caoursin, the famous victory over the Turks in 1480 was won thanks to the miraculous apparition of the Cross, the Virgin, and St. John the Baptist.⁴⁶ Moreover, the relics and the icon appear to have been closely connected to the rituals of initiation into the Order. When joining the Order, novices were required to take a vow of poverty, chastity, and obedience.⁴⁷ In the course of the initiation, the new members of the Order were also required

³⁹ Ibid., p. 57.

⁴⁰ Ibid., pp. 55–70.

⁴¹ Smith, "Up in arms," p. 218.

⁴² Sire, *The Knights of Malta*, pp. 57–9.

⁴³ Ibid., pp. 58–9.

⁴⁴ René Borricand, *Histoire de l'ordre souverain militaire et hospitalier de Saint-Jean-de-Jerusalem, de Rhodes et de Malte* (Avignon, 1981), pp. 55–63; see p. 62 for the clauses of the agreement on the retreat of the Knights from Rhodes, including the transfer of the Holy Relics.

⁴⁵ For the icon, see Pyatnicky, "Ikona filermsoj Boziej," and Ferraris di Celle, *Die Madonna von Philermos*.

⁴⁶ Guillaume Caoursin, *Obsidionis Rhodiae urbis description* (Caoursin's Account of the Siege of Rhodes in 1480), trans. John Kay, ed. H.W. Fincham (London, 1926), pp. 31–2.

⁴⁷ Luttrell, "Spiritual life," p. 76, cited in Smith, "Up in arms," p. 216, n. 16.

to profess their loyalty to God, the Virgin, and St. John the Baptist.⁴⁸ While the absence of a concrete textual record of the relationship between the initiation rite and the sacred treasures precludes any definitive conclusion, it is quite plausible to deduce that the three sacred objects came to be the symbolic, physical embodiments of this sacred rite.

The Hand on Malta

After a seven-year odyssey through Italy and France, the Hand and its companion treasures arrived on the island of Malta in 1530. Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor (1519–56) and King of Spain (1516–56), gave the island of Malta to the Order of St. John, asking in return for the symbolic payment of one hunting falcon a year.⁴⁹ The Order resided on Malta from 1530 to 1798, and was known both for military and charitable deeds. It developed monasticism with a knightly code of behavior that was so respected that the Order became known as the Knights of Malta. In addition, the Knights engaged in extensive building activity and became patrons of art. Following the successful defense against the Turkish attempt to seize Malta in 1565, the Knights began the building of the fort and the town of Valletta, named after the then Grand Master of the Order, Jean Parisot de la Valette (1557–68).⁵⁰

At Malta, the Hand, the relic of the True Cross, and the icon of the Virgin were eventually housed in the newly built church in Valletta, which was dedicated to the Baptist. Begun in 1573 under the sponsorship of the Grand Master Jean de la Cassière (1572–81), the church was elevated to the status of Co-Cathedral in 1882.⁵¹ The Hand and the relic of the Cross were kept in a separate chapel, attached to the north-east side of St. John's Co-Cathedral and known as the Shrine of the Holy Relics. The relics were spatially and hierarchically connected to the icon, since the latter was displayed in a separate, symmetrically located chapel on the south side of the altar.

The Hand figured prominently in the life of the Order and was incorporated in the public ritual of the city. Every year, on the feast of the Nativity of St. John (June 24), the relic was ceremoniously brought from its chapel to the

⁴⁸ Luttrell, "Spiritual life," p. 83.

⁴⁹ See Sire, *The Knights of Malta*, pp. 59–91; R. Cohen, *Knights of Malta 1523–1798* (New York, 1920), pp. 7–8 and Appendix, pp. 57–84; and Borricand, *Histoire de l'ordre*, pp. 69–119.

⁵⁰ See Cohen, *Knights of Malta*, pp. 42–9. For the history of the urban planning of Valletta and its fort, see also B.W. Blouet, "Town planning in Malta 1530–1798," *Town Planning Review* 35/3 (Oct. 1966), pp. 183–94; and Quentin Hughes, "Give me time and I will give you life," *Town Planning Review* 49/1 (Jan. 1978), pp. 61–74.

⁵¹ For the church, see Cynthia De Giorgio, *St. John's Co-Cathedral, Valletta* (Valletta, 2010); Dominic Cutajar, *Malta: History and Works of Art of St. John's Church, Valletta* (Valletta, 1989); and Hannibal Publius Scicluna, *The Church of St. John in Valletta: Its History, Architecture and Monuments* (Rome, 1955).

high altar of the church and subsequently carried around the city in a grand procession.⁵² Its importance for the Knights is perhaps best illustrated by the elaborate new reliquary they commissioned. Ciro Ferri (1634–89), who studied with Pietro da Cortona, made it in Rome, the sacred heart of western Christendom.⁵³ The reliquary is a sumptuous structure of gilt bronze and silver centered on a cylindrical chamber which contained the relic and was fitted with a door to expose it. Abundantly decorated with reliefs displaying palm leaves, lilies, and acanthus, it is framed by a pair of cherubs and two kneeling angels.⁵⁴ The reliquary was first presented to the public on the feast of the saint's nativity when it was set on the high altar with the greatest imaginable pomp.⁵⁵ Although the Hand departed Valletta when the Knights were once more expelled in the eighteenth century, the reliquary remained in Malta and is currently displayed in the treasury of St. John's Co-Cathedral.

The Hand in Russia

The Knights and the Hand resided on Malta until Napoleon's conquest in 1798. On June 12, 1798, on his way to Egypt, Napoleon (r. 1804–15) raided Malta and stripped the churches of all their gold and silver. He sent the Knights into exile, compelling them to leave within 72 hours.⁵⁶ Although Napoleon seized the relics and the icon of the Virgin, he was interested only in the precious metals and stones of their covers. Thus, the Order's three most valuable possessions were, providentially, returned to the Order. The icon, the relic of the True Cross, and the Hand—divested of their protective cases, yet no less powerful—were taken by the Knights from Malta and transported very far from the Mediterranean, to St. Petersburg, Russia.⁵⁷ They were formally presented to, and eagerly accepted by, the Tsar of Russia, Paul I (1754–1801).

This was not the first encounter of the Hand with the Russian dignitaries, for it appears to have been known to them almost a century before it reached St. Petersburg. A relationship between the Russian state and the Maltese Order had been established in the seventeenth century by the Russian Tsar Peter the Great (1672–1725). In fact, in 1698, the Tsar sent his ambassador, Count Boris Petrovich Sheremetev, on a long journey to visit Malta and observe the military readiness of the Knights in the light of a possible joint venture in the

⁵² See Cynthia de Giorgio, *The Conventual Church of the Knights of Malta: Splendour, History and Art of St John's Co-Cathedral, Valletta* (Valletta, 2010), pp. 134–6.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 135.

⁵⁴ For illustration, see *ibid.*

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ Some were even asked to leave within 24 hours. See Cohen, *Knights of Malta*, pp. 52–7, and Sire, *Knights of Malta*, p. 242.

⁵⁷ Cohen, *Knights of Malta*, pp. 56–7; Sire, *Knights of Malta*, pp. 242–6.

fight against the Ottomans.⁵⁸ During his stay, Sheremetev joined the Grand Master at the Mass in the cathedral. Ceremonially, he prostrated himself before the Hand.⁵⁹

The Russian–Maltese alliance reached its apex at the time of Paul I.⁶⁰ On January 4, 1797, Paul signed a document opening the Russian Grand Priory to his Roman Catholic subjects.⁶¹ On December 3, 1797, he was invested as the Protector of the Order of St. John, and in November 1798, he received the title of Grand Master.⁶² The major treasures of the Order were also presented to him. The Hand came in 1798 and was followed in 1799 by the icon of the Virgin of Filermo and the relic of the True Cross.⁶³ All three treasures were officially presented to Paul in an elaborate ceremony at the imperial palace in Gatchina on October 12, 1799.⁶⁴

As demanded by the Tsar, the translation of the relic was planned to coincide with the wedding of his daughter, the Grand Duchess Yelena Pavlovna, and the Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin.⁶⁵ The Hand played an important role and was singled out during this rather unusual combination of wedding/translation spectacle. According to contemporary sources:

When the procession approached the Palace, the emperor personally took the right Hand of St. John and, with the church choir singing the *troparion* in honor of St. John, carried it into the palace church. The icon of the Mother of God of Filermo and the fragment of the Life-Giving Cross [True Cross] of the Lord were also placed there.⁶⁶

The wedding of the Tsar's second daughter, Alexandra Pavlovna, was celebrated one week after the translation in 1799. This time, the Tsar used

⁵⁸ Guzeppi Schembri, *The Malta and Russia Connection: A History of Diplomatic Relations between Malta and Russia (XVII–XIX cc) Based on Original Russian Documents* (Valletta, 1990), pp. 4–13.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 4–7.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 12–32; and Andrew P. Vella, *Malta and the Czars: Diplomatic Relations between the Order of St. John and Russia, 1672–1802* (Valletta, 1972), pp. 16–21.

⁶¹ Archival sources related to these events have been published by Pyatnitsky, "Maltese relics in Russia," pp. 303–15.

⁶² Although the election was irregular, it was unofficially accepted by the Vatican in hope that Paul's influence might regain Malta for the Knights. See Roderick E. McGrew, *Paul I of Russia, 1754–1801* (Oxford, 1992), especially pp. 271–81; and Roderick E. McGrew, "Paul I and the Knights of Malta," in *Paul I: A Reassessment of His Life and Reign*, ed. Hugh Ragsdale (Pittsburgh, 1979), pp. 44–7.

⁶³ The Tsar also received the Cross of Valette in 1798; the cross had the icon of the Virgin of Filermo at its center and later formed part of the Crown Treasury. See Pyatnitsky, "Maltese relics in Russia," p. 303.

⁶⁴ The priory at Gatchina was presented to the Maltese Order by a decree of Paul I dated August 23, 1799. See Vella, *Malta and the Czars*, p. 87. For archival sources describing the ceremonial transfer of the relics and the icon, see Pyatnitsky, "Maltese relics in Russia," p. 306.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 308.

the Hand to personally bless the newlyweds.⁶⁷ He also insisted that the translation of the holy treasures be included in the church calendar. Thus, the appropriation of the Hand was marked by yet another feast of translation, celebrated yearly, this time by the Russian Orthodox Church. In accord with the Tsar's wishes, a special service was written for the occasion which, he ensured, was approved by the Russian Synod.⁶⁸

While the complexity of the role of the Knights of Malta during the rule of Paul I has received scholarly attention, the significance of their most precious possessions, to my knowledge, has been overlooked.⁶⁹ The conflation of a family wedding and a ceremony of the official translation of the sacred objects may seem peculiar, but it underscores their importance for the Tsar. The whole spectacle may have been choreographed to demonstrate the Tsar's piety and power as custodian of the relics before his new in-laws and other wedding guests. I suggest that the act of blessing the newlyweds with the Hand of the saint was imbued with additional significance. It augmented the power of the terrestrial ruler through the spiritual intervention of the Baptist. Paul I certainly needed this extra boost to his then-disparaged public image, caused by a financial crisis and the unpopular handling of both internal and foreign affairs. His public demonstration of the relic could have also been intended to justify his highly unpopular, overly generous involvement with the Knights.⁷⁰ The use of the relics was certainly a calculated gesture on the part of the ruler. It appealed to the deeply religious Russian population, especially the nobility, who comprised the most vocal opponent of his association with the Knights.

In 1799, when the royal family moved to St. Petersburg, the relics and the icon followed and were displayed in the Great Church of the Winter Palace. While hidden from a general audience, they were again selectively available for viewing by the upper echelon of society. For the occasion of their transfer, the Tsar commissioned new, luxurious containers of gold and silver, decorated with precious stones, including diamonds, rubies, and sapphires in which they are still encased.⁷¹

After the Tsar's death in 1801, the role of the relics and the icon changed yet again. With the increasingly diminishing status of the Order in Russia, the relics lost their propagandistic value for their subsequent owners.⁷² However, due to their uncompromised spiritual power and symbolic value, they

⁶⁷ She married Archduke Joseph Palatine of Hungary. See *ibid.*

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 306.

⁶⁹ For a discussion about the role of the Knights and a bibliography, see McGrew, *Paul I of Russia*, pp. 271–81; and McGrew, "Paul I and the Knights of Malta," pp. 44–7.

⁷⁰ Paul gifted the Knights with otherwise scarce financial resources that included several distinctive buildings, and he also incorporated them into the ceremonial life of the court. See McGrew, *Paul I of Russia*, pp. 271–81.

⁷¹ Pyatnitsky, "Maltese relics in Russia," pp. 310–11.

⁷² The Order was all but extinct by 1817; see McGrew, *Paul I of Russia*, pp. 271–81.

remained in the Winter Palace and were considered a property of the imperial family. For a number of years, from 1852 until 1916, they were annually transported to the cathedral of Gatchina where ceremonies were performed to celebrate the feast of their translation (October 12).⁷³

The holy treasures miraculously survived the Bolshevik destruction of the Winter Palace in October, 1917.⁷⁴ Through another sacred theft that involved both clerical and imperial authorities, the Hand of St. John, the relic of the True Cross, and the icon of the Virgin of Filermo secretly left Russia in 1919.⁷⁵ Thanks to the efforts of the Russian dowager empress, Maria Feodorovna (1847–1928),⁷⁶ they arrived first in Denmark, were then transported to the newly built Russian Orthodox Church in Berlin (1928), and finally in 1929 were presented to King Aleksandar I Karadjordjević (r. 1921–34) in Belgrade in gratitude for accepting a large number of White Russian immigrants after the Bolshevik revolution.⁷⁷ The three treasures were kept in the chapel of the Royal Palace in Dedinje until the Yugoslavian king, Petar II Karadjordjević (r. 1934–45), fled the country at the outbreak of World War II and the German bombing of Belgrade on April 6, 1941. Before escaping, the king took the Hand, the icon, and the relic of the Cross, along with the Crown treasures, to the Ostrog Monastery near Nikšić in Montenegro, where they were hidden under the floor of the western chapel of the monastery church.⁷⁸ The absence of information about the treasures gave rise to many tales about their destiny. These accounts alternatively claim that the relics and the icon were lost during the attacks on Belgrade in 1941, placed in a lost submarine to be taken abroad, and even deposited in a Swiss bank but could not be removed.⁷⁹ Completely unreliable, these legends nonetheless

⁷³ Pyatnitsky, "Maltese relics in Russia," pp. 307–15.

⁷⁴ They were either taken to Gatchina for the celebration of the feast or to Moscow's Kremlin Palace along with other sacred possessions of the churches of the imperial court. See *ibid.*; S.N. Balaeva and A.V. Pomarnatskii, *Gatchina* (Moscow, 1952); and E. Ducamp and N.S. Tretyakov, *Imperial Palaces in the Vicinity of Saint Petersburg. Vol. 1: Gatchina* (Paris, 1992).

⁷⁵ Pyatnitsky, "Maltese relics in Russia," pp. 313–15.

⁷⁶ Maria Feodorovna—the wife of the Russian Tsar Alexander III and the mother of the last Russian Tsar, Nicholas II Romanov—was a Danish Princess, baptized as Marie Sophie Frederikke Dagmar of Denmark, who changed her name and became Orthodox after her marriage. Despite the overthrow of the monarchy in 1917, the Empress Maria departed Russia only in 1919 and was buried in Denmark in 1928. See A.I. Barkovets and V.M. Tenikhina, *Empress Maria Fiodorovna* (St. Petersburg, 2006). However, in accordance with her wish to join her husband posthumously, Maria Feodorovna's remains were brought to Russia and buried next to her husband in the Romanov family crypt in St. Peter and Paul Cathedral in St. Petersburg in September 2006. See http://rt.com/Top_News/2006-09-28/Russian_empress_is_laid_to_rest.html.

⁷⁷ Aleksandar I was the last king of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes (1921–29) and the first king of Yugoslavia (1929–34). Information about the transfer of the Hand to Yugoslavian authorities has been mostly kept in closed archives, portions of which were published in the journal *Svetigora* 21–3 (1993) and 24 (1994) and are now available on www.mitropolija.cg.yu/svetinje/krstitelj.html; in Bulatović, *Najveće hrišćanske svetinje*; and in Simonović, *Tajne ostroškog blaga*.

⁷⁸ Simonović, *Tajne ostroškog blaga*, pp. 23–46.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

confirm the potency of the objects, attesting the continuity of their afterlife and the centuries-long belief in their charisma.

The Contemporary History of the Hand and Its Companion Treasures

The subsequent history of the Hand and the other treasures has remained a closely kept secret, widely unknown to the international audience. Information about their whereabouts was carefully hidden in the secret archives of the ruling Communist government at an undisclosed location. Moreover, when the information finally became available following the fall of the Communist regime, it was not accessible to western scholars, as the majority of texts are written in Serbian and other Slavic languages. The concluding paragraphs of this chapter propose to reconstruct the afterlife of these treasures during the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, while at the same time focusing both on the constancy of their spiritual power and the transient goals of their owners. The relics and the icon were safely preserved in the Ostrog Monastery until the Communists raided it in 1952.⁸⁰ The treasures were immediately confiscated. The international community knew nothing of this event; it was a covert Communist operation. The Hand, the icon, and the relic of the True Cross were secured by the Safe of the Department of Safety and Security, where they remained for 26 years (1952–78).⁸¹ In 1978, after numerous pleas by the church authorities who engaged in an intense correspondence with the Communist government, the Rhodes Hand and the relic of the True Cross were finally returned to the Serbian Orthodox Church, handed to the Metropolitan of Montenegro, and secretly kept in Cetinje Monastery until 1993.⁸² The icon was given to the museum in Cetinje, where it still resides.

The disclosure of the Rhodes Hand and the icon of the Virgin of Filermo in the post-Communist era inspired a new wave of both religious devotion and political intrigue. The press coverage given to the relic and the icon was revealing. As translated, the titles of the articles—"Ignorant of the Treasure," "A Policeman Revealed a Secret," "The Battle of the Holy Grail of the Balkans," and "Who is Lobbying on Behalf of the Maltese Order?" to mention just a few—flooded the local and national press.⁸³ After being hidden

⁸⁰ The whole campaign resulted in a legal process against clerics who deliberately refused to notify the secular authorities about their possessions; a selection of documents from the proceedings were published in Simonović, *Tajne ostroškog blaga*, especially pp. 155–89; and in Bulatović, *Najveće hrišćanske svetinje*, pp. 31–77.

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² From personal interviews with several people who were directly involved with the treasures it appears that church authorities were concerned that the Communists might again confiscate the relics, so they hid them in order to protect them.

⁸³ Vreme News Digest Agency 129 (March 14, 1994), see www.scc.rutgers.edu/serbian-digest.

for almost a century, the Hand and its accompanying treasures became the focus of daily life and intrigue, to such an intense degree that they initiated—as is common in the Balkans—a number of conspiracy theories. My favorite, which appeared, among other places, in the mainstream paper on April 14, 2006, stated that the government was offered \$150 million by the Knights of Malta for the return of the treasures. Apparently, the offer was denied, either because the reliquaries and the icon were worth much more, or because the government of Montenegro could sell the relics and use the money to achieve independence.⁸⁴ The story is, of course, unfounded. It is interesting, however, that during the tumultuous decades of the end of the century, when the geopolitical map of the Balkans changed considerably, popular media, if not the official government, revived the political power of the sacred treasures.

The Hand again, as many times in the past, has received special attention recently. In 2006, for six weeks (from June 7 until July 16), the Hand—this time without its companion treasures—traveled through former Soviet countries that included Russia, Belarus, and Ukraine. Its journey received considerable media coverage world-wide, for it attracted thousands of people and continuously performed miracles. According to the *Daily Telegraph*, *The Guardian*, and the BBC, the Hand was seen by over 100,000 people while on view in the Cathedral of Christ Savior in Moscow, when people waited for six to eight hours in long lines to venerate it.⁸⁵ Similarly, hundreds of thousands of people paid homage to the relic in Kiev, Rostov, and Minsk.⁸⁶ As in the earlier times, the Hand was repeatedly noted for its miracles, particularly the healing of the blind and deaf, and the curing of paralytics. The Hand became a sacred star, reverently carried from one town to the other by the highest church dignitaries, and welcomed by masses of believers, just as in its early days.

The fascinating journey of the Hand reveals the power of an object to connect Byzantine emperors with Maltese Knights via Ottoman sultans; to traverse the world from Antioch to St. Petersburg; and to be involved with Napoleon, Russian tsars and Yugoslavian kings, while escaping Bolshevik executions and Yugoslavian Communist prosecution. It evaded numerous intrigues at the highest political level that included not only the medieval Byzantine court but also the very Byzantine, yet relatively recent, Balkan affairs. In all these exploits, the only constant feature that the Hand continuously exhibited was

⁸⁴ Čedo Prelević, "I svetinje na tenderu," *Večernje novosti* (April 14, 2006), see www.novosti.rs/code/navigate.php?Id=jedna&vest=87869&datum=2006-04-15. I have to add that nothing was sold, and Montenegro still acquired its independence.

⁸⁵ See www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/russia/1521182/Miracle-of-John-the-Baptists-hand.html; see also <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/5060004.stm>; and <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/5063404.stm>.

⁸⁶ Full press coverage of the journey of the Hand is provided by www.mitropolija.cg.yu/svetigorapress/Saopstenja/Desnica-uRusiji-2006.htm.

its spiritual power, always miraculous and holy to the faithful. The number of those who repossessed, acculturated, and often exploited its many-faceted possibilities appears not to have been exhausted, as the Hand constantly seems to renew the powers extolled by its many owners. While this combination of constancy and adaptability is particular to relics in general, the longevity coupled with vitality is reserved only for the best and most prestigious of these sacred objects. The Rhodes Hand certainly belongs to that group and, if one is to judge by its active past, we will continue to witness its many actions for years to come.

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This chapter was completed thanks to the generous help of many friends, colleagues, and students to whom I am deeply grateful. I owe the suggestion of the topic to Dr. Danica Popović and Dr. Marko Popović. My most sincere gratitude is also extended to architect Dragomir Acović, President of the Serbian Heraldic Society, who unselfishly shared his knowledge and his documentation; to the Cetinje monastery, especially its hegoumenos, Father Luka; to Professor Diane Cole Ahl for her illuminating comments and editing remarks; to Mirko Toljić, Boba Šibalić, Aleksandra Davidov, and Petrica Duletić; and to my Lafayette students, Nikolče Gorevski, Caroline Conway, and Sarah Kolba. I dedicate this study to Annemarie, my mentor, colleague, and friend.

PART III

CYPRLOT INFLUENCES

Some Remarks on the Appropriation, Use, and Survival of Gothic Forms on Cyprus

Michele Bacci

Rising amid palm trees, prominent and improbable under the Mediterranean sun, these buildings challenge interpretation. That they served as mosques after the Ottoman conquest of Cyprus in 1571 makes them all the more complex. They looked exotic to me when I first encountered them in 1970; my effort to accommodate their complexity has paralleled the broader post-colonial concern with identity and diversity that has turned Cyprus during the intervening decades from an exotic site into a potent social paradigm.¹

In these words, which were intended as a commentary to the huge Gothic cathedrals of Nicosia and Famagusta, Annemarie Weyl Carr has described the shift that she experienced in her methodological approach to the very peculiar artistic space of medieval Cyprus, originally investigated as a dynamic periphery of Byzantine empire and later increasingly interpreted as privileged space for the analysis of cross-cultural convergences and artistic interactions. This shift was concretely connected to her more and more intensive exploration of the island's astounding landscape of domes, gargoyles, and minarets, where the scholar's emotion in front of the extensive Comnenian paintings of the Troodos mountains could be combined with the surprised discovery of sumptuous Gothic cathedrals and enhanced by a somewhat irrational fascination for archaic tombs officiated as churches: Armenian and Greek churches made according to Gothic patterns; Latin churches converted into mosques; Turkish hamams labeled as "Greek baths"; and sepulchers of renowned dervishes composed of Roman marble. The encounter with this exceptionally complex land elicits many questions and challenges the

¹ A.W. Carr, "Correlative spaces: Art, identity, and appropriation in Lusignan Cyprus," *Modern Greek Studies Yearbook* 14/15 (1998–99), p. 59–80, esp. 59; repr. in A.W. Carr, *Cyprus and the Devotional Arts of Byzantium in the Era of the Crusades*, Aldershot 2005, pp. 59–80.

rather rigid taxonomy worked out by art historians to define the relationship between one cultural group, the territory inhabited by it, its peculiar repertoire of forms, and its connections with other people's artistic manifestations and symbolic production. As a tribute to this special approach, I will present here some short remarks on the cross-cultural use of styles and on the role played by them in the social construction of identities, as is revealed by the shifting fortunes of Gothic forms on Cyprus from the Lusignan through the British periods.²

The first stage of this centuries-long process took place in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, when Gothic forms from France and Germany were imported to the island, as the French and British art historians of the colonialist period liked to point out. In general terms, this holds true especially for the oldest period of Frankish domination: the new style happened to be juxtaposed with traditional Byzantine or Byzantinizing architecture, as is literally evidenced by the chapels and funerary rooms annexed to Greek-rite churches such as the Panagia Angeloktistos in Kiti, in the countryside near Larnaca.³ In the major political centers, the skyline was completely altered by the construction of majestic cathedrals like Saint Sophia in Nicosia, began in the early thirteenth century, enlarged in the 1250s and 1260s, and especially embellished under the supervision of Archbishop John of Conti in the 1320s.⁴ There is no doubt that this huge building had an extraordinary impact on the local population: it was much prized for the solemnity of its dignified interior, covered by elegant ribbed vaults and embellished with tracery windows, stained glass, and numerous ornaments. Its widely decorated porch, filled with statues and narrow icons, probably functioned as a meeting point for several shared activities, and in some ways this plural destination is reflected by such distinctive features as the Transfiguration displayed over the main doorway and the flat niches decorated with hands holding crowns, which were meant to house narrow icons instead of statues or reliefs.⁵

The Cathedral of Saint Nicholas in Famagusta (Figure 7.1) is the other Cypriot building that looked purely French to the French art historian

² On the issue of "ethnicity" in its association with the use of specific architectural forms on Cyprus see, most notably, M. Given, "Architectural styles and ethnic identity in medieval to modern Cyprus," in J. Clarke (ed.), *Archaeological Perspectives on the Transmission and Transformation of Culture in the Eastern Mediterranean*, Oxford 2005, pp. 207–13; and J.G. Schryver, "Monuments of identity: Latin, Greek, Frank and Cypriot?," in S. Fourrier and G. Grivaud (eds), *Identités croisées en un milieu méditerranéen. Le cas de Chypre (Antiquité–Moyen Âge)*, Mont-Saint-Aignan 2006, pp. 385–405.

³ On Gothic chapels annexed to Byzantine-rite churches cf. A.W. Carr, "Byzantines and Italians on Cyprus: Images from art," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 49 (1995), pp. 339–57, esp. 345–6 note 41.

⁴ Basic references in Ph. Plagnieux and Th. Soulard, "Nicosie: La cathédrale Sainte-Sophie," in J.-B. de Vaivre and Ph. Plagnieux (eds), *L'art gothique en Chypre*, Paris 2006, pp. 122–9.

⁵ Carr, "Byzantines and Italians," pp. 340–41.



Fig. 7.1 Famagusta, the metropolitan church of Saint George of the Greeks and the former Latin cathedral of Saint Nicholas (Lala Mustafa Camii). View from the Cambulat bastion.

Camille Enlart in 1899.⁶ This impressive structure, superbly embellished with fine rayonnant moldings and traceries, was especially used for the consecration of the Lusignan souverains as titular kings of Jerusalem; and the visual organization of its façade, though stylistically more akin to German prototypes, probably hinted at epitomizing the auratic power associated with the French court's ceremonial cathedral in Reims.⁷ Its inscription in the urban context of Famagusta—the most “Frankish” and also the most cosmopolitan of all the Cypriot towns—had an extraordinary impact on the architectural campaigns promoted by each of the communities settled in town, including Armenians, Arab Christians, and Greeks.

The latter's metropolitan church (Figure 7.1) is one of the most striking examples of appropriation of other people's artistic manifestations. Built from

⁶ C. Enlart, *Gothic Art and the Renaissance in Cyprus*, London 1987, pp. 222–45 [English translation of Enlart, *L'art gothique et la Renaissance en Chypre*, Paris 1899]. See now Ph. Plagnieux and Th. Soulard, “Famagouste: La cathédrale Saint-Nicolas,” in *L'art gothique en Chypre*, pp. 218–37.

⁷ Plagnieux and Soulard, “Famagouste: La cathédrale Saint-Nicolas,” pp. 233–4.

the 1360s onwards very close to a much smaller building (supposed to mark the burial site of Saint Epiphanius of Salamis), the Greek bishop's main church was meant to rival the sumptuous appearance of the nearby Latin cathedral, probably in order to assess that the latter was not more dignified and devout than the former.⁸ It is worth stressing that this building demonstrates that rivaling did not mean promoting an autonomous, indigenous style as opposed to that of the Cypriot rulers. On the contrary, it was aimed at overcoming their rulers' achievements on their own ground by imitating such ornamental and structural features as tracery windows and flying buttresses. The word "imitation" should be intended herewith as a cultural process implying a selective use of both forms and building techniques as a means to enhance the beauty, dimensions, and solemnity of the cult-place, instead of imagining an unconditioned and passive acceptance of foreign "influence". Actually, enthusiasm for Gothic forms did not prevent buildings from being provided with semicircular apses, which proved indispensable for the performance of the Byzantine rite, and Palaiologan painters from either Constantinople or Thessaloniki were involved in their decoration.

Yet, the structural and aesthetic efficaciousness that happened to be attributed to Gothic architecture by the inhabitants of towns dominated by imposing Gothic cathedrals constitutes just one of the motif-forces underlying the phenomenon of appropriation and elaboration of Gothic forms on the part of non-Latins. Westerners not only exported architectural and spatial patterns, but also manifested a functional approach to church interiors that soon proved to be appealing even to Orthodox believers. Extant evidence in Famagusta points out that the naves of Latin-rite churches were extensively used as burial spaces and were accordingly embellished with ornaments and structures associated with the performance of votive masses and other forms of liturgical commemoration which took place at side-altars that, as can still be seen in the church of Saints Peter and Paul (Sinan Pasha Camii), could be included within a diminutive chapel in the form of a pointed-arched wall recess. Such a type of structure—echoing that of funerary arcossolia and being concretely combined or associated with tombs—was frequently employed in

⁸ Enlart, *Gothic Art*, pp. 253–8; G. Jeffery, *A Description of the Historic Monuments of Cyprus. Studies in the Archaeology and Architecture of the Island*, Nicosia 1918, pp. 147–51; G. Sotiriou, *Τα βυζαντινά μνημεία της Κύπρου*, Athens 1935, pl. 34, figs 48, 49^a, 50^a, 60^b; T.S.R. Boase, "The arts in Cyprus. A. Ecclesiastical Art," in K.M. Setton (ed.), *A History of the Crusades*, Madison, WI 1969–89, vol. 4: *The Art and Architecture of the Crusader States*, ed. H.W. Hazard, 1977, pp. 165–95 (177–9); M. Rivoire-Richard, "Η γοτθική τέχνη στην Κύπρο," in Th. Papadopoulos (ed.), *Ιστορία της Κύπρου*, Nicosia 1995–, vol. 5, pp. 1415–4 (1423); N. Gioles, *Η χριστιανική τέχνη στην Κύπρο*, Nicosia 2003, p. 144; A.G. Marangou, *Αμμόχωστος. Η ιστορία της πόλης*, Nicosia 2005, pp. 112–17; A.W. Carr, "Art," in A. Nicolaou-Konnari and Ch. Schabel (eds), *Cyprus. Society and Culture 1191–1374*, Leiden/Boston 2005, pp. 285–328 (315–16); Th. Soulard, "L'architecture gothique grecque du royaume des Lusignans: les cathédrales de Famagouste et Nicosie," in *Identités croisées*, pp. 355–84 (356–65); Ph. Plagnieux and Th. Soulard, "La cathédrale Saint-Georges des Grecs," in *L'art gothique en Chypre*, pp. 286–96.

town, as is evidenced by the extant examples in the Carmelite and Franciscan churches as well as in the Benedictine church of Saint Anne and in other buildings. The analogous wall recesses that are encountered in both Saint George of the Greeks and the probably Arab Melkite church of Agios Georgios Exorinos indicate that, by means of the imitation of such *pro anima* chapels, their lay patrons manifested the same interest in the privatization of sacred spaces that was cultivated by their Latin fellow citizens.⁹

It is worth remarking that in Cyprus, as in the other “mixed” societies of the Levant, where several cultural communities shared the same space and destiny, the phenomena of juxtaposition and coexistence of different artistic manifestations in the same context or even in the same building were more frequent than the cases of stylistic synthesis. The latter was usually borne out of a decades-long process of interactions and familiarization of each human group with other people’s forms, and was expressed more by architecture and ornament than by figurative arts, where other criteria prevailed, as is evidenced by the authoritativeness almost universally associated with Byzantine religious painting.

On the whole, the analysis of the remnants of painted decoration in the buildings of Famagusta has evidenced that the different communities tended to embellish their own buildings with Byzantine or Byzantinizing murals; a number of them (including those in the Carmelite church, Saint Anne’s, the tiny Armenian church, and the Syrian-rite building known as Agios Georgios Exorinos) were probably decorated by the same atelier of Palaiologan painters, who worked in a very high-quality style best paralleled by works made in Macedonia and Serbia in the last decades of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth centuries. Such artists remained loyal to the standard compositional and stylistic formulae used in mainland Byzantium, even if they might happen to slightly modify their iconography to make it suitable for their audiences’ visual conventions, as is revealed in the Carmelite church by the representation of Saint Nicholas in Western garb, whose *mitria* and pallium were clearly meant to enable Latin-rite beholders to fully recognize the saint as a Latin bishop.

Yet, other considerations could encourage Greek painters to appropriate Western, i.e. Italianate, features. The diffusion of a basically transconfessional religious sensibility which, in the context of a mercantile town, placed a very strong emphasis on individual piety and private strategies for the afterlife, paved the way to the diffusion of devotional images meant to express the

⁹ On such issues, see M. Bacci, “Arte e raccomandazione dell’anima nei domini latini del Levante: alcune riflessioni,” in Chr. Maltezou and G. Varzelioti (eds), *Oltre la morte. Testamenti di Greci e Veneziani redatti a Venezia o in territorio greco-veneziano nei sec. XIV–XVIII*, proceedings of a symposium (Venice, Hellenic Institute of Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Studies, 22–3 January 2007), Athens 2008, p. 131–59; M. Bacci, “Side-altars and ‘pro anima’ chapels in the medieval Mediterranean: Evidence from Cyprus,” in V.M. Schmidt and J. Kroesen (eds), *The Altar and Its Environment 1150–1400*, Turnhout 2009, pp. 11–30.

laypeople's desire for salvation, as is especially evidenced by the proliferation of votive murals, frescoed retables, and other compositions displaying signs of private patronage. Portraits of supplicants tended to intrude themselves within the space of religious compositions, and many appeared in the most prominent parts of the church. At the same time, those saints who were especially worshipped in the area of Famagusta or were privileged in an individual's devotional practices were eventually given an extraordinary emphasis by representing them flanked by a selection of scenes inspired by

Fig. 7.2 Fragment of mural with the Virgin of Mercy(?) and Mary Magdalene, late 14th century. Famagusta, church of Agios Georgios Exorinos.



their hagiographic narratives and by encircling them within a decorative border, including the commissioner's coat of arms. Such a solution is most notably found in a late fourteenth-century mural in the tiny Armenian church, where were worked out models also employed in the nave of the nearby Carmelite church, and in the Syrian-rite (probably Melkite) church of Agios Georgios Exorinos, where a fragmentary mural with the Virgin of Mercy and Mary Magdalene, the special intercessor for sinners, is framed by a decorative border with the coats of arms of its donor, a member of the Embriaco-Gibelet family, the former Genoese lords of Jbail (Lebanon). This mural (Figure 7.2) is all the more striking, as it proves to imitate contemporary Italian painting on both iconographic and stylistic grounds, even if such details as the rendering of facial features and the use of a greenish *proplasma* reveal that it was the work of the same Palaiologan artists who made the nearby figures in the late fourteenth century. In this special case the rather accurate simulation of Italianate features seems to be strictly functional to the use and display of a distinctively Western type of image, that of the votive or "pro anima" mural icon.

Moreover, the exuberant repertory of Gothic ornaments could be extensively appreciated by almost all the communities settled in Famagusta and elsewhere on Cyprus. The definitely Byzantine-looking Passion scenes in the metropolitan church of Saint George of the Greeks, probably dating from ca. 1370–80, were strikingly framed by a large border displaying foliate motifs, quadrilobes, and simulated marble intarsia (Figure 7.3) through which the local Greek community probably intended to rival the sumptuousness of the interior decoration of Saint Nicholas's in just the same way as its architecture was meant to equal the Latin cathedral in dignity. Most meaningfully, such elaborated frames were used, as in great painted cycles of fourteenth-century Italy, as efficacious means to give a stronger visual emphasis to the holy narratives, which, on the contrary, seem to be unaffected by Italian painting. On the whole, such solutions prove to be the outcome of a selective approach to other people's artistic traditions which seems to have been guided by basically functional and aesthetic choices, and to result in a plain combination of forms rather than in a real convergence or synthesis.¹⁰

¹⁰ I summarize herewith the considerations I have already expressed in a series of previous publications, including M. Bacci, "Syrian, Palaiologan, and Gothic murals in the 'Nestorian' church of Famagusta," *Δελτίον της χριστιανικής αρχαιολογικής εταιρείας*, ser. IV, 27 (2006), pp. 207–20; Bacci, "L'arte: circolazione di modelli e interazioni culturali," in S. Carocci (ed.), *Storia d'Europa e del Mediterraneo. Sezione IV. Il Medioevo (secoli V–XV). Vol. IX. Strutture, preminenze, lessici comuni*, Rome 2007, pp. 581–632; Bacci, "Greek painters working for Latin and non-Orthodox patrons in the late medieval Mediterranean," in J. Anderson (ed.), *Crossing Cultures: Conflict, Migration and Convergence: The Proceedings of the 32nd International Congress of the History of Art*, Melbourne 2009, pp. 196–201; Bacci, "The Armenian church in Famagusta and its mural decoration," in *Culture of Cilician Armenia*, proceedings of the international symposium (Antelyas, Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 14–18 January 2008), Antelyas 2009, pp. 1–20; Bacci, "Patterns of church decoration



Fig. 7.3 Ornamental borders, mural painting, late fourteenth century. Famagusta, church of Saint George of the Greeks.

More evident cases of a deeper artistic synthesis can be detected in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, in part as an outcome of Venetian rule on Cyprus from 1474 onwards, when Italian or Italianate artworks are supposed

in Famagusta (14th–16th centuries),” in A.W. Carr (ed.), *Medieval Famagusta. Art and Architecture*, forthcoming.

to have reached the island, and possibly also via the culturally mixed ateliers of Candia. In this period many churches were decorated with extensive cycles of mural painting which not only displayed Gothic ornaments and enriched the compositions with Italianate motifs, but also deliberately blended Byzantinizing and Western features on both stylistic and technical grounds. Such striking complexes as the mural decoration of the so-called "Latin Chapel" in the Monastery of Saint Herakleidios in Kalopanagiotis have notably elicited many efforts of interpretation, some of them postulating the deliberate and conscious use of Italianate forms as markers of identity. Alternatively, they can be considered to be visual means of cultural assimilation on the part of the Venetian rulers, or to express the ideology of Unionist Greeks willing to assert their recognition of Roman supremacy, or, on the contrary, to be the outcome of a wider and indiscriminate process of confessional syncretism.¹¹

Yet, even if it proves true that, by the end of the fifteenth century painters were well aware of the distinctive features of both Latin and Greek "national" styles (as is most notably revealed in contemporary Cretan documents by the terminological distinction between pictures made *alla greca* and *alla latina*),¹² there is still no clue to determining that the adoption of features and devices connected with other people's artistic traditions was automatically perceived by both artists and viewers in political or identitarian terms. Forms could indeed be appreciated by different communities for their visual efficacy, aesthetic appeal, and their probable role as markers of high social standing, regardless of their cultural, ethnic, or confessional connections. Moreover, stylistic hybridizations could eventually work as a visual compromise that

¹¹ Cf. the remarks by D.D. Triantaphyllopoulos, "Βενετία και Κύπρος. Σχέσεις τους στην τέχνη," in Chr.A. Maltezou (ed.), *Κύπρος-Βενετία. Κοινές ιστορικές τύχες*, proceedings of a symposium (Athens, 1–3 March 2001), Venice 2002, pp. 315–36. On painting in Venetian-ruled Cyprus see idem, "Η τέχνη στην Κύπρο από την Άλωση της Κωνσταντινούπολης (1453) έως την έναρξη της Τουρκοκρατίας (1571): βυζαντινή – μεσαιωνική ή μεταβυζαντινή"; *Πρακτικά του Γ' διεθνούς κυπριολογικού συνεδρίου*, Nicosia 2001, vol. II, pp. 621–50; S. Frigerio-Zeniou, *L'art 'italo-byzantin' à Chypre au XVI^e siècle. Trois témoins de la peinture religieuse: Panagia Podithou, la Chapelle Latine et Panagia Iamatikè*, Venice 1998; I.A. Eliades, *Cypriot Painting and Its Affinity with Italian Art during the Frankish and Venetian Rule: 1191–1571*, in S.G. Casu, Chr. Chatzichristodoulou, and G. Toumazis, *Θεοτόκος/Madonna*, exhibition catalogue (Nicosia, Hellenic Bank, July 2005), Nicosia 2005, pp. 28–37.

¹² M. Cattapan, "Nuovi elenchi e documenti dei pittori in Creta dal 1300 al 1500," *Θησαυρισματα* 9 (1972), pp. 202–35 (211–13 and docs. 6–8). On Veneto-Greek interactions in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Crete see, most notably, M. Vassilaki, "Western influence on the art of Crete," *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 32/5 (1982), pp. 301–11; and more generally Vassilaki, *The Painter Angelos and Icon-Painting in Venetian Crete*, Farnham 2009. Cf. also M. Constantoudaki-Kitromilidis, "A fifteenth century Byzantine icon-painter working on mosaics in Venice: Unpublished documents," *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 32/5 (1982), pp. 265–72; Constantoudaki-Kitromilidis, "Ενθρονη βρεφοκρατούσα και άγιοι. Σύνθετο έργο ιταλοκρητικής τέχνης," *Δελτίον της χριστιανικής αρχαιολογικής εταιρείας* 17 (1993–94), pp. 285–302; Constantoudaki-Kitromilidis, "*Conducere apothecam, in qua exercere artem nostram*. Το εργαστήριο ενός βυζαντινός και ενός βενετού ζωγράφου στην Κρήτη," *Σύμμεικτα* 14 (2001), pp. 292–300.

could be aptly shared by all or most of the groups composing the multilayered and multiconfessional society of Lusignan Cyprus. Such a process is best evidenced in the field of architecture by the development of the so-called “Franco-Byzantine style,” which is characterized by the combination of some Gothic devices (including dressed stone masonry, drip-moldings over windows and doors, and rib vaults) with the traditional architectural schemes employed for Greek-rite churches, as is already revealed by the small chapel of Agios Iakovos in Triкомо, variously dated from the late thirteenth through the fifteenth century.¹³

One of the most composite buildings on Cyprus is the building presently known as the Bedesten in Nicosia, which pertained to the local Greeks and was originally attributed to the Virgin Chrysotheistria.¹⁴ This basilica-type church with octagonal drum and semispherical dome was clearly built and decorated in a way that aimed at rivaling the nearby Latin cathedral of Saint Sophia. Its exterior ornaments, mostly dating from the sixteenth century, prove to be a free and eclectic combination of motifs directly borrowed from the nearby building, such as rosettes, blind trefoiled arcades, and foliate ornaments housing Renaissance-style masks (Figure 7.4). The most striking quotation is represented by the flat niches decorated with arms holding crowns, which were meant to house icons, though lower and larger than those used in the narthex of the Latin cathedral (Figure 7.5). In a way, it was the most evident concession to Greek devotional practices on the part of the Franks that was imitated and enhanced in the north façade of this eclectic Byzantine-rite church.

The stylistic synthesis of Byzantine, Gothic, and Renaissance Venetian features was well established on Cyprus when the island fell into the hands of the Ottoman Turks in 1570–71. As a consequence of the conquest the most illustrious and sumptuous Latin buildings were converted to new uses: Saint Sophia was transformed into an Islamic cult-place, retaining the name of Ayasofya Mosque, in less than one day, by removing its altars and images, plastering its walls, destroying its slabs, and covering its floor with carpets. Later on minarets were added, and a wooden mihrab was set within the south-east chapel.¹⁵ In most cases, the Ottomans limited their action to the

¹³ Gioles, *Η χριστιανική τέχνη*, pp. 143–4. On the so-called Franco-Byzantine style cf. A. Papageorgiou, “L’art byzantin de Chypre et l’art des croisés. Influences réciproques,” *Report of the Department of Antiquities Cyprus* (1982), pp. 217–26 (222–4); and the short, yet thoughtful, remarks by Carr, “Art,” pp. 319–20.

¹⁴ On this building and its complex history cf. Enlart, *Gothic Art*, pp. 136–47; Jeffery, *A Description*, pp. 84–9; M.D. Willis, “Byzantine Beginnings of the Bedesten,” *Κυπριακαὶ σπουδαὶ* 50 (1987), pp. 185–92; P. Leventis, *Twelve Times in Nicosia. Nicosia, Cyprus, 1192–1570: Topography, Architecture, and Urban Experience in a Diversified Capital City*, Nicosia 2005, pp. 285–99; Ph. Plagnieux and Th. Soulard, “Le Bédestan (cathédrale grecque de Nicosie),” in *L’art gothique en Chypre*, pp. 181–9.

¹⁵ On Latin churches converted into mosques on Cyprus see most notably P. Cuneo, “Chiese latine trasformate in moschee. Il caso di Cipro,” in *Saggi in onore di Renato Bonelli*, Rome 1992 (*Quaderni dell’Istituto di storia dell’architettura*, n.s., 15–20, 1990–92), pp. 285–94.



Fig. 7.4 Nicosia, Bedesten: former church of the Panagia Chrysotheistria, northeastern doorway.

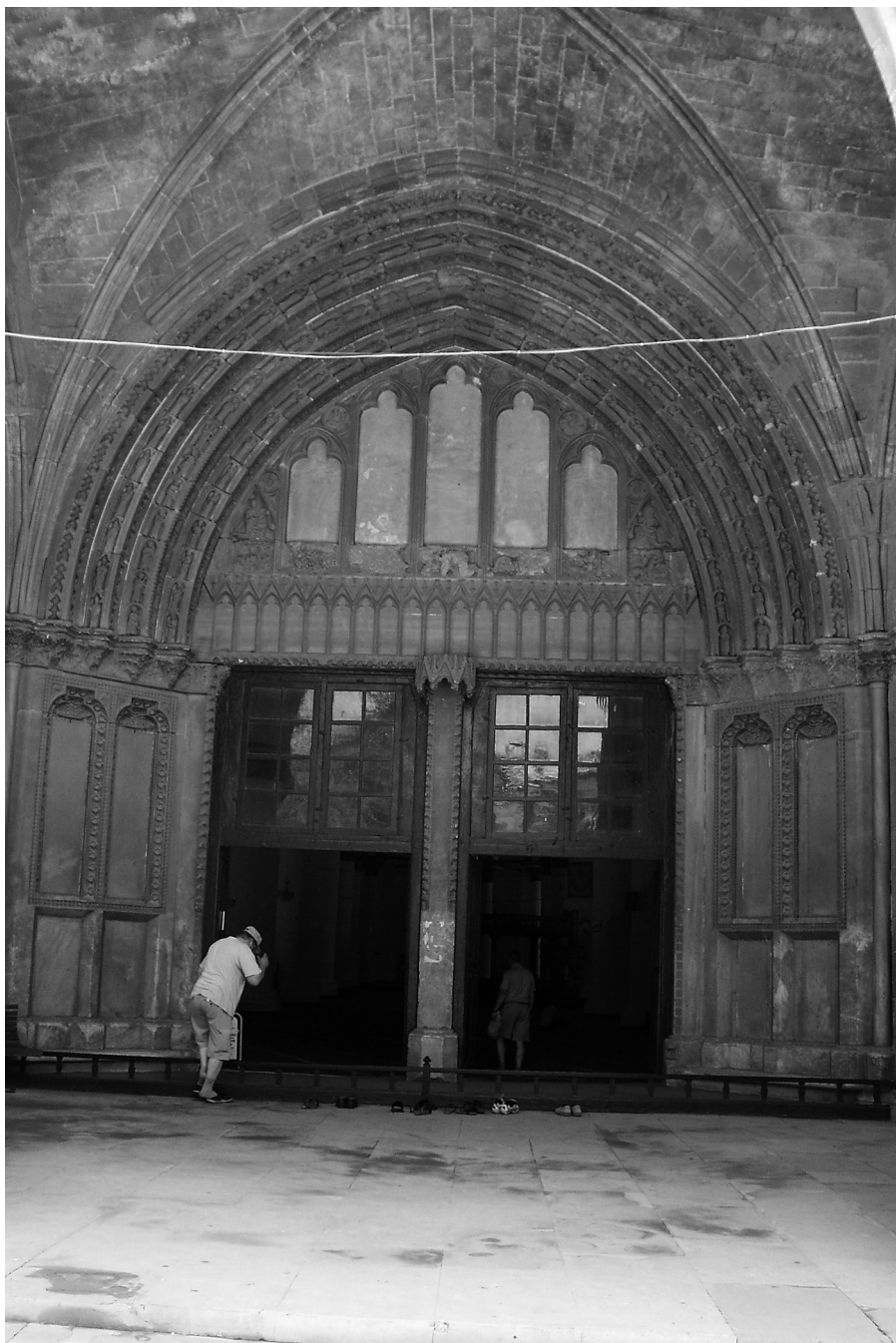


Fig. 7.5 Nicosia, Selimiye Camii, former Latin cathedral of Saint Sophia, narthex with main doorway.

removal of superfluous ornaments and the setting of Islamic furniture: in the tiny church of Saint Catherine this consisted of a very simple white mihrab, echoing the orientation of the Gothic piscina on the apse wall. In some cases, Latin buildings were converted to profane destinations, the most notable being that of the town's still-functioning baths, or "Büyük Hamam," which preserve a fourteenth-century doorway displaying a complete repertory of Gothic ornaments.¹⁶

By such a material appropriation of the most eminent Latin monuments, the Ottoman Turks became familiar with Gothic architecture and learnt to appreciate its prestige and sumptuousness. The use of former cathedrals as Friday mosques caused them to be invested with a special religious meaning: as the foci of the urban landscape of Islamized Nicosia, they were perceived as symbols of identity by the Muslim population, which was composed of Turks, converted Franks and Greeks, the latter including the *linovamvakoi*, or crypto-Christians. The Greek Orthodox also felt that these same buildings were part of their identity, as is evidenced by the fact that they labeled both Nicosia and Famagusta cathedrals as "Agia Sofía" and that they worked out stories which spoke of holy icons once preserved there.¹⁷

The blending of Byzantine and Western styles in the late Lusignan and Venetian period had made Gothic forms familiar to the Greek population: they not only inherited the working practices and architectural devices (like pointed arches and exterior buttresses) imported and developed by the Latin Cypriots, but also owned prestigious buildings which displayed hybridized and Westernizing forms, such as Saint George in Famagusta and the Bedesten in Nicosia. Especially in the two major centers, they tended to imitate such models, as is the case with the Chrysaliniotissa Church in Nicosia, whose odd southern extension was probably built much later than the Ottoman conquest, well into the seventeenth century. Its main doorway (Figure 7.6) is clearly inspired by the eclectic Gothic ornaments of the Bedesten, though rendered in an extremely flat and linear way, whereas the roof is provided with simplified gargoyles.¹⁸

Some of the most popular "mixed" shrines, originally intended for both the Latin and the Greek offices, included distinctive Gothic features which continued to exert an impact on subsequent architectural practice. In the case of the church of Saint Mamas at Morphou, dating from the early sixteenth century, the devotees were accustomed to paying their homage to the saint's

¹⁶ Enlart, *Gothic Art*, pp. 157–60; Jeffery, *A Description*, p. 61; Leventis, *Twelve Times in Nicosia*, p. 203.

¹⁷ A. Koumparidou, "Παραδόσεις περί διασώσεως φορητών εικόνων," *Κυπριακά και σπουδαί* 12 (1968), pp. 87–97.

¹⁸ Jeffery, *A Description*, p. 24; Rupert Gunnis, *Historic Cyprus: A Guide to its Towns and Villages, Monasteries and Castles* (London: Methuen, 1936), pp. 64–6; K. Keshishian, *Λευκωσία. Η πρωτεύουσα της Κύπρου άλλοτε και τώρα*, Nicosia 1989, p. 157.

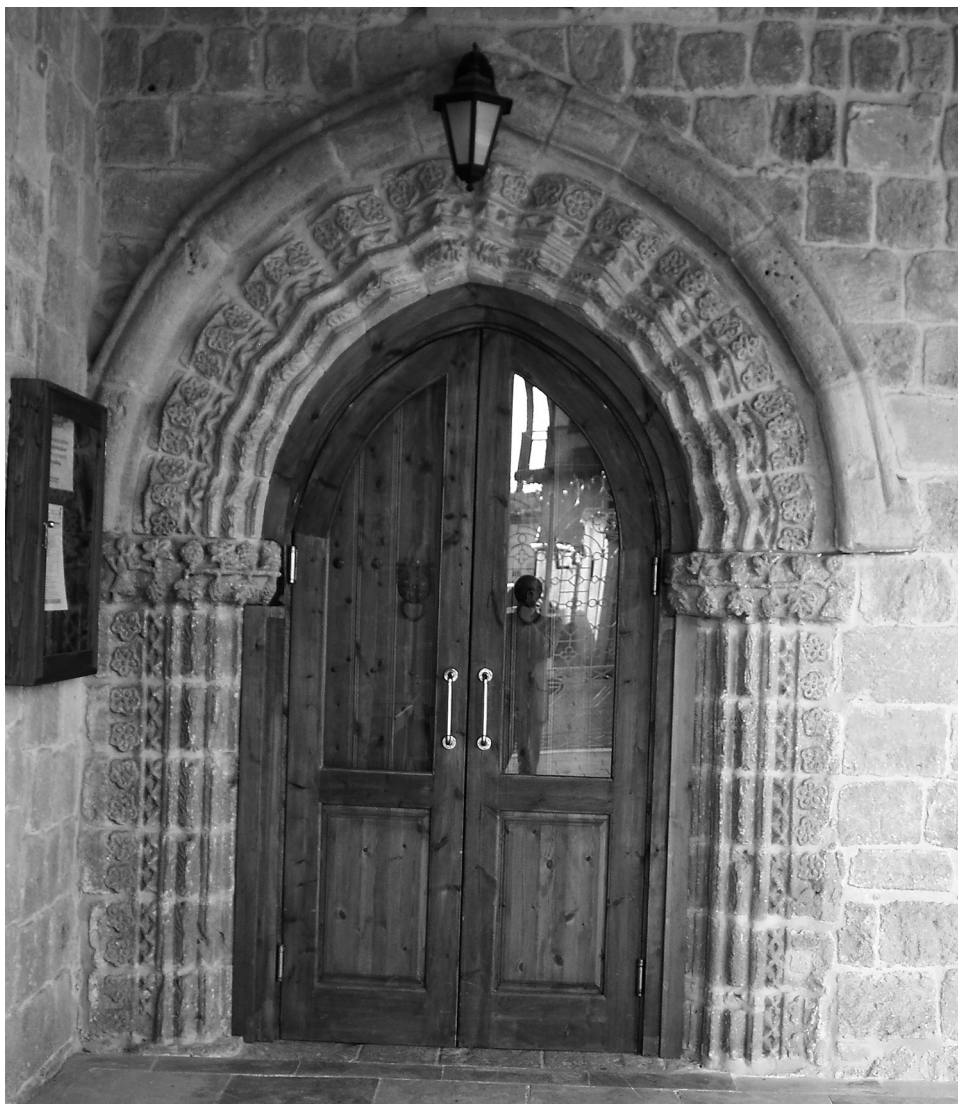


Fig. 7.6 Nicosia, Greek church of the Panagia Chrysaliniotissa, south doorway.

tomb included within a wide recess decorated with foliate motifs, which was reminiscent of the setting of the flat wall-chapels used by Latins for the performance of votive masses.¹⁹ While attending the liturgy, they looked at a

¹⁹ A.W. Carr, "Cypriot funerary icons: Questions of convergence in a complex land," in S. Hayes-Healy (ed.), *Medieval Paradigms. Essays in Honor of Jeremy DuQuesnay Adams* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), pp. 153–73, esp. 164 and 173, note 41. On the cult of Saint



Fig. 7.7 Morphou, shrine of Saint Mamas, iconostasis.

sixteenth or early seventeenth-century iconostasis which proved to be an odd mixture of Gothic, Renaissance, and Byzantine motifs, and when entering the church, they went through a doorway provided with moldings and voussoirs (Figure 7.7).²⁰

About a century after the Ottoman conquest the Greek Orthodox Church was powerful enough to promote the construction of new churches. The new buildings, though simple and often diminutive, not infrequently aimed at emulating the sumptuousness of the former Latin churches converted into the most distinctive Muslim monuments by both retaining some Gothic architectural devices (such as pointed arches, buttresses, and vaulted naves) and by displaying remnants of ruined churches. In the eighteenth-century metropolitan church of Saint John, annexed to the Greek archbishopric, the façade was embellished with parts of sculpted sarcophagi,²¹ whereas remnants of other funerary monuments were used to enhance the beauty of each doorway in the late seventeenth-century church of Saint Michael Tripiotis.²² The reliefs exhibited over the main portal are so oddly linear and “Romanesqueizing” that one is led to suspect that they may be an awkward imitation of medieval style made in the Ottoman period.

Such cases vividly illustrate the Greek Cypriots’ appreciation of medieval antiquities, which was probably connected to the prestige associated with the most eminent buildings of Nicosia and Famagusta.²³ It is worth stressing that even in the nineteenth century, when this community promoted the highly

Mamas on Cyprus see most notably A. Marava-Chatzinikolaou, *Ο Άγιος Μάμας*, Athens 1953, pp. 70–84. On “mixed” shrines see also H. Luke, *Cyprus. A Portrait and an Appreciation*, London/Nicosia 1965, pp. 145–60; M. Bacci, “‘Mixed’ shrines in the Late Byzantine period,” in L.A. Beljaev (ed.), *Archaeologia Abrahamica. Исследования в области археологии и художественной традиции иудаизма, христианства, и ислама/Studies in Archaeology and Artistic Tradition of Judaism, Christianity and Islam*, Moscow 2009, pp. 433–4.

²⁰ On the church architecture and furnishings cf. Enlart, *Gothic Art*, pp. 166–70; Jeffery, *A Description*, pp. 221–2; Gunnis, *Historic Cyprus*, p. 349; P. Stylianou and N. Christodoulou, *Η εκκλησία τ’ Αη Μάμα κι οι άλλες εκκλησίες της κατεχόμενης Μόρφου*, Nicosia 1985, pp. 16–23; D. Myriantheus, “Εκκλησιαστική αρχιτεκτονική (13ος–20ος αιώνας),” in *Τερά Μητρόπολις Μόρφου. 2000 χρόνια τέχνης και αγιότητα*, exhibition catalogue (Nicosia, Cultural Foundation of the Bank of Cyprus, 2000), Nicosia 2000, pp. 71–96 (71–2); Ch.E. Kourres, “Άγιος Μάμας ο μεγάλος άγιος της Μόρφου,” *ibid.*, pp. 229–39 (234–8); Gioles, *Η χριστιανική τέχνη*, p. 144; Chr. A. Hadjichristodoulou, *The Cathedral Church of St. Mamas, Morphou*, Nicosia 2010; W. C. Remsen, “The Survey of the Church,” in M. Jones and A. Milward Jones (eds.), *The Canopy of Heaven. The Ciborium in the Church of St. Mamas, Morphou*, [Nicosia] 2010, pp. 71–101.

²¹ Enlart, *Gothic Art*, pp. 163–4; Jeffery, *A Description*, pp. 35–7; Gunnis, *Historic Cyprus*, pp. 68–70; A. Papageorgiou, “Ο καθεδρικός ναός του Αγίου Ιωάννου στη Λευκωσία,” *Κυπριακαί σπουδαί* 61 (1997), pp. 47–98; Leventis, *Twelve Times in Nicosia*, pp. 269–70.

²² Enlart, *Gothic Art*, pp. 160–63; Jeffery, *A Description*, pp. 45–7; Gunnis, *Historic Cyprus*, pp. 75–6; Keshishian, *Λευκωσία*, pp. 152–4; Leventis, *Twelve Times in Nicosia*, p. 271.

²³ On the impact of Frankish architecture on Greek Orthodox churches in Cyprus during the Ottoman period cf. I.A. Eliades, “Παράδοση και ανανέωση στην αρχιτεκτονική της Τουρκοκρατίας στην Κύπρο (1570–1878),” *Κυπριακαί σπουδαί* 72 (2008), pp. 111–37, esp. 122–32.

ideologized forms of Neoclassicisms, an eclectic Gothicizing style was still used, albeit sporadically, for ecclesiastical buildings. A case in point is the west extension of the old church of Agios Sinesios at Rizokarpaso, whose western extension and belfry were accomplished by the Greek Cypriot architect Christodoulos Michail at the time of Archbishop Sophronios III (1865–1900), as we are informed by an inscription. Their reproduction in a watercolour made in 1878 by the British officer Hugh Sinclair demonstrates that the architectural enterprise had taken place in the last years of Ottoman rule.²⁴ The decoration of the south doorway is a strongly simplified version of a Gothic portal, whose pediment has been oddly decorated with a lion rendered in very flat relief. The setting of the façade (Figure 7.8 = Plate 10) combines suggestions from several Cypriot monuments: the doorway—embellished with crocketed gable, pinnacles, and colonnettes—has an openwork tympanum whose curvilinear tracery is clearly inspired by the elegant doorway of the former Cathedral of Saint Nicholas in Famagusta, by then known as the Mustafa Pasha Mosque (Figure 7.9).²⁵ Two curious structures flank the main doorway: on the left is a flat gabled niche wherein are represented two hands holding a crown, obviously taken after the model of the niches in the narthex of Saint Sophia, whereas the hollow recess to the right seems to be reminiscent of the altar canopy in Saint George of the Latins, Famagusta.²⁶

Analogous quotations from the medieval monuments of Cyprus are clearly detectable in the small church of Agios Thyrsos, not far from Rizokarpaso. Even if tourist guides often hint at a date in the fifteenth century, there is no doubt that it proves to be a revivalist building of the late nineteenth century.²⁷ The south doorway is treated in the same way as the main one at Rizokarpaso, so that we can infer that it was accomplished by the same architect. It consists of a gable with foliage cresting and two figures of dragons at the lower end of its sloping sides; two splayed arches with broken angles decorated with stylized leaves; and pediment with bar tracery. In general terms, it seems to provide

²⁴ R. Severis, *Travelling Artists in Cyprus 1700–1960*, London 2000, pp. 162–3. On the church reconstruction in the nineteenth century see Chr.N. Taoushianis, *Αἱ ἐκκλησίαι τοῦ Ῥιζοκάρπασου*, Nicosia 1983, pp. 9–19.

²⁵ Enlart, *Gothic Art*, p. 395; J.-B. de Vaivre, “Sur les pas de Camille Enlart en Chypre,” in *L’art gothique en Chypre*, pp. 15–56 (40–42).

²⁶ On this church, see Enlart, *Gothic Art*, pp. 258–62; Jeffery, *A Description*, pp. 128–31; N. Coldstream, “The church of Saint George the Latin,” *Report of the Department of Antiquities Cyprus* (1975), pp. 147–51; Rivoire-Richard, “Ἡ γοτθικὴ τέχνη,” pp. 1423–4; Gioles, *Ἡ χριστιανικὴ τέχνη*, p. 150; A. Özdural, “The church of St. George of the Latins in Famagusta: A case study in medieval metrology and design techniques,” in N.Y. Wu (ed.), *Ad quadratum: The Practical Application of Geometry in Medieval Architecture*, Aldershot 2002, pp. 217–42; Marangou, *Αμμόχωστος*, pp. 122–5; Ph. Plagnieux and Th. Soulard, “L’église Saint-Georges des Latins (Saint-George des Génois?),” in *L’art gothique en Chypre*, pp. 243–7. An analogous niche is preserved also in the ruined church located close to the Mustafa Pasha Camii: cf. Enlart, *Gothic Art*, pp. 296–7.

²⁷ Gunnis, *Historic Cyprus*, p. 208; cf. the detail published as an example of the art of the Lusignan era in R. Hanworth, *The Heritage of North Cyprus*, Nicosia s.d. [ca. 1989], p. 98.



Fig. 7.8 Rizokarpaso, church of Agios Sinesios, view of the façade.

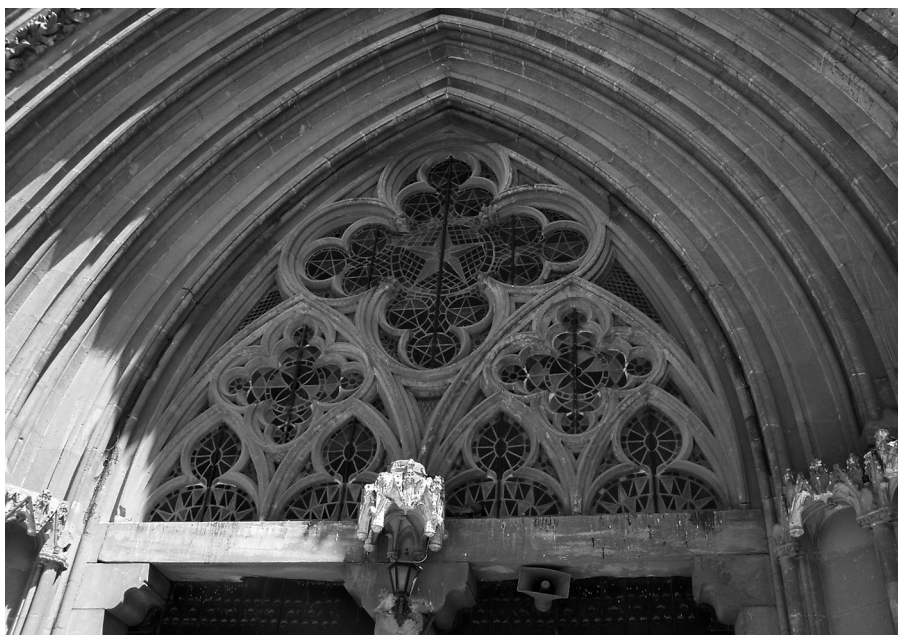


Fig. 7.9 Famagusta, cathedral of Saint Nicholas, tympanum of the main doorway.



Fig. 7.10 Aigialousa (neighborhoods of), church of Agios Thyrsos, apse vaulting.



Fig. 7.11 Nicosia, Haidar Pasha Camii, former Latin church known as Saint Catherine's, apse vault.

a synthetized version of the main doorway of Famagusta cathedral, whereas the interior with three-sided apse and ribbed vaults (Figure 7.10) seems to be inspired by the solutions seen in Saint Catherine in Nicosia, then known as the Haidar Pasha Mosque (Figure 7.11).²⁸ Approximately in the same period, in 1894, the cathedral of Saint Sophia in the Cypriot capital was used as a model for the façade of the church of Saint John the Divine in the village of Mia Milia, which was provided with a rather simplified imitation of a Gothic splayed doorway,²⁹ whereas the church of the Panagia Phaneromene at Lysi took inspiration from the rayonnant ornaments of Famagusta Cathedral.³⁰

One might be tempted to imagine that this trend of Cypriot “Gothic revival” was especially promoted by the British rulers of the island after the beginning of their mandate in 1878, maybe as opposed to the Neoclassical style by then privileged by the Greek population, but such a view is clearly contradicted by the two aforementioned churches. Moreover, there are several clues as to state that imitation of Gothic buildings had started already in the Ottoman period.³¹ This is best pointed out by some late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century mosques which enable us to infer that Gothicizing features, mostly aiming at evoking the aura of Saint Sophia in Nicosia, were imitated also by the Turkish community. Such elements are sometimes hardly detectable, such as the stylized rosettes, borrowed from the narthex of what was by then the town’s Friday mosque, in the gallery of a minaret annexed to the tiny Taht el-Kale Camii in Nicosia, dating from 1826 to 1827.³² Much more evident are the references in the early nineteenth-century village mosque at Peristerona (Figure 7.12 = Plate 11), which is provided with angular colonnettes, oeil-de-boeuf, foliate capitals, pointed-arched windows with trefoil decoration, drip-moldings, and colored glass, as well as a Renaissance-style doorway.³³

²⁸ On this church see Enlart, *Gothic Art*, pp. 152–7; Jeffery, *A Description*, pp. 90–93; Gunnis, *Historic Cyprus*, pp. 59–60; Keshishian, *Λευκωσία*, p. 189; Rivoire-Richard, “Η γοτθική τέχνη,” pp. 1420–21; Plagnieux and Soulard, “Nicosie. L’église Sainte-Catherine,” pp. 160–69; Leventis, *Twelve Times in Nicosia*, pp. 227–9.

²⁹ Gunnis, *Historic Cyprus*, p. 344. Cf. the illustration in Ch. Chotzakoglou, *Religious Monuments in Turkish-Occupied Cyprus*, Nicosia 2008, p. 51.

³⁰ Eliades, “Παράδοση και ανανέωση,” p. 132.

³¹ Ottoman art and architecture in Cyprus has been scarcely investigated. For some general remarks cf. H.F. Alasya, *Kıbrıs tarihi ve Kıbrıs Türk eserleri*, Ankara 1964; E. Esin, *Turkish Art in Cyprus*, Ankara 1969; F. Çuhadaroglu and F. Oğuz, “Kıbrıs’ta Türk Eserleri,” *Rölöve ve Restorasyon Dergisi* 2 (1977), pp. 1–77; G. Tekman, I. Feridun, and T. Bağışkan, *Turkish Monuments in Cyprus*, Nicosia 1987; T. Bağışkan, *Ottoman, Islamic and Islamised Monuments in Cyprus*, Nicosia 2009. For a comparative analysis, cf. C. Schriwer, “Cultural and ethnic identity in the Ottoman period architecture of Cyprus, Jordan and Lebanon,” *Levant* 34 (2002), pp. 197–218.

³² [Ch. Avraamidēs], *Muslim Places of Worship in Cyprus*, Nicosia 2005, pp. 22, 33; I. Hadjisavva-Adam (ed.), *Nicosia Within the Walls: A Multicultural Dialogue*. European Heritage Days, Nicosia, 29 September 2002, p. 34 no. 10; T. Bağışkan, *Ottoman*, pp. 136–8.

³³ A.C. Gazioğlu, *The Turks in Cyprus. A Province of the Ottoman Empire (1571–1878)*, Nicosia 1990, p. 274; Avraamidēs, *Muslim Places*, pp. 34–5; Bağışkan, *Ottoman*, pp. 190–91.



Fig. 7.12 Peristerona (near Nicosia), the village mosque.



Fig. 7.13 Larnaka, Great Mosque, main doorway.



Fig. 7.14 Nicosia, main entrance to a private house.

Further examples of Gothic borrowings are the main doorway (Figure 7.13) of the Great Mosque of Larnaka (1835–36)³⁴ and the arch marking the entrance to the precinct of the Bayraktar Camii in Nicosia (1820).³⁵

Such examples are sufficient to show that Gothic forms were used by the major religious communities as a means to enhance the magnificence and sumptuousness of their own cult-places, and that they could not be invested with any special ideological meaning. It is hardly surprising then that such forms, which constituted a distinctive hallmark of the town landscape and were commonly regarded as efficacious paradigms of beautiful architecture, were widely appropriated for the decoration of domestic buildings. Many citizens of Nicosia continued to live in houses built in the Frankish period and displaying such distinctive features as decorated entrances and angular colonnettes. They were so rooted in local habits that they were not deemed incompatible with non-Gothic architectural contexts, as is pointed out by the pointed-arched and molded doorway included in the sumptuous Ottoman house of the famous Greek dragoman Hadjigeorgakis Kornesios, built in the late eighteenth century.³⁶ With such precedents, it is hardly surprising that neo-Gothic features were widely employed in the eclectic façades of private houses of late nineteenth-century Nicosia, where they were freely combined with Renaissance and Ottoman motifs (Figure 7.14).³⁷ The most peculiar solutions were once again inspired by local models, such as in those houses where the main entrance was flanked by two flat niches with trilobed moldings which proudly evoked the sumptuous doorways of what was the former Cathedral of Saint Sophia for the Greeks and the Ayasofya Camii for the Muslim Turks.

³⁴ Gazioğlu, *The Turks in Cyprus*, p. 275; *Muslim Places*, p. 63–5; Bağışkan, *Ottoman*, pp. 258–63.

³⁵ Keshishian, *Λευκωσία*, p. 192; Gazioğlu, *The Turks in Cyprus*, pp. 270–71; Avraamidēs, *Muslim Places*, p. 28; Bağışkan, *Ottoman*, pp. 101–8.

³⁶ M. Pihler (ed.), *A Dragoman's House: The House of Hadjigeorgakis Kornesios in Nicosia. A Study of Its Background and Architecture*, Nicosia 1993.

³⁷ On the composite character of Nicosia's domestic architecture and the role of styles as markers of identity cf. H. Pulhan and I. Numan, "The Traditional Urban House in Cyprus as Material Expression of Cultural Transformation," *Journal of Design History* 19 (2006), pp. 105–19.

Byzantine Icon-Painting Around 1400: Constantinople or Crete?

Maria Vassilaki

In 1962, in his fundamental book on the icons of San Giorgio dei Greci and of the Istituto Ellenico in Venice entitled *Ikônes de Saint-Georges des Grecs et de la collection de l'Institut Hellénique de Venise*, Manolis Chatzidakis first expressed the view that the Constantinopolitan painters who were documented to have settled in Crete in the early fifteenth century must have played a decisive role in shaping fifteenth-century Cretan painting.¹ He believed, in other words, that these Constantinopolitan artists brought from the capital of Byzantium to the capital of Crete certain iconographic and stylistic norms which became fundamental in shaping and developing Cretan painting. Of course, in the early 1960s the evidence for the presence of Constantinopolitan artists in Crete was rather limited. In fact, only the names of Alexios Apokafkos and Nikolaos Philanthropenos were known to Chatzidakis, and no information concerning their artistic activity, if any, was available to him at that time.²

Some years later, however, the researches of Father Mario Cattapan in the State Archive of Venice uncovered the names of many more artists who had left Constantinople for Crete and brought to light important information concerning their artistic activity and production.³ They all appear to have been living and working in Candia (that is, modern Heraklion), the capital of the

¹ Manolis Chatzidakis, *Ikônes de Saint-Georges des Grecs et de la collection de l'Institut Hellénique de Venise* (Venice, 1962), p. XXXVIII.

² Nikolaos Veis, "Βυζαντινοί ζωγράφοι προ της Αλώσεως. Συμβολή εις την ιστορίαν της βυζαντινής ζωγραφικής," *Βυζαντίς*, 2(1911–12): no. 22, pp. 457–73. Nikolaos Tomadakis, *Ο Ιωσήφ Βρυέννιος και η Κρήτη κατά το 1400. Μελέτη φιλολογική και ιστορική* (Athens, 1947), pp. 122–3, 126–30. Manoussos Manoussakas, "Μέτρα της Βενετίας έναντι της εν Κρήτη επιρροής του πατριαρχείου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως κατ' ανέκδοτα βενετικά έγγραφα (1418–19)," *Επετήρις Εταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν* (EEBS), 30(1960): pp. 94–101, 128–44.

³ Mario Cattapan, "Nuovi documenti riguardanti pittori cretesi dal 1300 al 1500," *Πεπραγμένα του Β' Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου* (Athens, 1968), vol. 3, pp. 29–46,

Venetian occupied island of Crete. Thanks to Father Cattapan, not only were such names as Theodoros Mouzelis, Georgios Chryssokephalos, Emmanuel Ouranos and Angelos Apokafkos added to the few already known, but also the period during which such Constantinopolitan artists settled in Crete was moved, at least for a few of them, a century earlier—that is, from the early fifteenth to the first decades of the fourteenth century. I wish we knew the exact conditions under which these painters left Constantinople for Candia but we do not. Recently Maria Constantoudaki-Kitromilides has added more information regarding the names and activity of Constantinopolitan painters living and working in Candia.⁴

The best documented among these painters are three: Alexios Apokafkos, Angelos Apokafkos and Nikolaos Philanthropenos. The oldest known document about Alexios Apokafkos reveals that he maintained an icon workshop in the city of Candia, in which he accepted apprentices. On 24 April 1399 Apokafkos accepts Georgios Angeletos, son of the widow Angelina Angeleto, an inhabitant of Candia, as an apprentice in his workshop, and promises to teach him the art of painting over an interval of seven years.⁵ This suggests that Apokafkos was established in Candia by then and had already developed a respectable professional profile. On 13 July 1412 he agrees to decorate a pair of curtains for the Venetian Zipano Contarini.⁶ Alexios had agreed to do similar work for a member of the noble Corner family.⁷ Archival evidence suggests that Alexios participated at least in the summer and early autumn of 1412 in the fresco decoration of the monastery of Varsamonero, to the south of Candia.⁸

The fact that Alexios Apokafkos is a friend of Joseph Vryennios, legate in Crete of the Patriarch of Constantinople and an important theological figure of the period, says much, and the fact that he is appointed executor of Vryennios' will even more.⁹ Certainly the special honour Vryennios accords

esp. pp. 35, 37–8, 41–2, no. 2. Mario Cattapan, "Nuovi elenchi e documenti dei pittori in Creta dal 1300 al 1500," *Thesaurismata*, 9(1972): pp. 202–35, esp. pp. 204, 205, 218–20, nos 12, 13, 14.

⁴ Maria Constantoudaki-Kitromilides, "Viaggi di pittori tra Constantinopoli e Candia: documenti d'archivio e influssi sull'arte (XIV–XV sec.)," in Chryssa Maltezos, Angeliki Tzavara and Despina Vlassi (eds), *I Greci durante la Venetokrazia: Uomini, spazio, idee (XIII–XVIII sec.)*, *Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi, Venezia, 3–7 dicembre 2007* (Venice, 2009), pp. 709–23.

⁵ Cattapan, "Nuovi elenchi," pp. 218–19, no. 12. Constantoudaki-Kitromilides "Viaggi di pittori," p. 714.

⁶ Cattapan, "Nuovi elenchi," p. 232. Constantoudaki-Kitromilides, "Viaggi di pittori," p. 714.

⁷ For Michaletus Corner, Constantoudaki-Kitromilides, "Viaggi di pittori," p. 714.

⁸ Klaus Gallas, Klaus Wessel and Manolis Borboudakis, *Byzantinisches Kreta* (Munich, 1983), pp. 313–21, pls 110–11, figs 275–81. As the monastery in Varsamonero consists of three chapels, Constantoudaki suggests that it is more possible that Alexios Apokafkos was involved in the fresco decoration of the chapel of St John the Baptist.

⁹ Tomadakis, *Ο Ιωσήφ Βρυέννιος*, pp. 122–3. Nikolaos Tomadakis, *Σύλλαβος βυζαντινών μελετών και κειμένων* (Athens, 1961), vol. 2, pp. 503–4.

Alexios Apokafkos in appointing him executor of his will is indirect evidence of the social recognition the painter enjoyed. This social recognition will not have been unrelated to the fact that he bore the name of the renowned Byzantine family of the Apokafkoi, though we do not know with which particular branch of this family Alexios was connected.

Angelos Apokafkos was probably a younger brother of Alexios. On 1 March 1421 Angelos Apokafkos and Markos Pavlopoulos signed a contract in which it was agreed that Angelos would execute a large fresco representation of the Last Judgment for the church of our Lady of the Angels (Sancta Maria Angelorum) in the burgo of Candia, where Pavlopoulos was a minister.¹⁰

Nikolaos Philanthropenos, the third of the Constantinopolitan painters that I address in this chapter, is also well documented. According to archival documents, Nikolaos Philanthropenos settled in Candia with his family in the late fourteenth century and kept a workshop there.¹¹ The first document concerning his artistic activity is a contract signed in Candia on 23 November 1400 between Nikolaos Philanthropenos and the Venetian painter Nicolaus Storlado.¹² In this contract it is agreed that the two painters will establish an official collaboration in the form of a partnership for three years. In the same contract it is also agreed that they will rent a common workshop in Candia, in which they will both exercise their profession; they will share the rent as well as all the expenses occasioned by running this workshop. They will also divide in two equal parts all the profits from the workshop. The penalty clause is fixed at 50 hyperpyra, if either of the two parties breaks the agreement. The second document is of 14 July 1412, in which Philanthropenos undertakes to paint a *pala d'altare* (an altarpiece) for the nobleman Alessandro Barbo.¹³ In another contract of 2 November 1413, Philanthropenos undertakes to gild a pair of curtains for Orestio da Molino within two weeks.¹⁴ Philanthropenos also gave painting lessons, as an apprenticeship agreement of the year 1400 indicates. In this he undertakes to teach the art of painting to the young Georgios Moussouros for three years.¹⁵ On 23 July 1418 Georgios

¹⁰ Cattapan, "Nuovi elenchi," p. 230, no. 31. Constantoudaki-Kitromilides, "Viaggi di pittori," p. 715.

¹¹ Cattapan, "Nuovi documenti," p. 37, no. 31. Cattapan, "Nuovi elenchi," p. 204, no. 30. Maria Constantoudaki-Kitromilides, "A fifteenth century Byzantine icon-painter working on mosaics in Venice," *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik (JÖB)*, 32/5(1982), XVI *Internationaler Byzantinistenkongress (Wien, 4–9 Oktober 1981)*, Akten II/5: pp. 265–9.

¹² Maria Constantoudaki-Kitromilides, "Conducere apothecam, in qua exercere artem nostrum: Το εργαστήριο ενός Βυζαντινού και ενός Βενετού ζωγράφου στην Κρήτη," *Σύμμεικτα*, 14(2001): pp. 291–8. Constantoudaki-Kitromilides, "Viaggi di pittori," p. 717.

¹³ Constantoudaki-Kitromilides, "A fifteenth century Byzantine icon-painter," p. 266, n. 7. Constantoudaki-Kitromilides, "Viaggi di pittori," p. 717.

¹⁴ Constantoudaki-Kitromilides, "A fifteenth century Byzantine icon-painter," p. 266, n. 9.

¹⁵ Cattapan, "Nuovi elenchi," p. 219, no. 13. Constantoudaki-Kitromilides, "A fifteenth century Byzantine icon-painter," p. 265, n. 2. Constantoudaki-Kitromilides, "Viaggi di pittori," pp. 716–17.

Chryssovergis commissioned him to paint two icons, one of the Virgin and the other of St George.¹⁶ Finally Philanthropenos' long career took him to Venice, where he worked on the mosaics of San Marco. He signs as a witness in a contract drawn up in Venice, in 1453, in which he is referred to as *magister Nicolaus Philastropino, magister artis musaice in ecclesia Sancti Marci*—that is, master mosaicist in the basilica of San Marco in Venice.¹⁷

The case of Philanthropenos is interesting not only because he was a very active painter, as the documents inform us, but also because he evidently held an eminent position in the society of Candia. Of course this may have had less to do with his profession and more to do with the fact that he was of Constantinopolitan descent; and, indeed, a descendant of the illustrious Philanthropenos family, as well as a relative of the Patriarch of Constantinople, Joseph II.¹⁸ Even so it is interesting that a man of such social standing should have practiced the profession of painter.

Though the activity of the above-mentioned Constantinopolitan painters is well documented in the archival sources, of their work itself not a trace survives. Not a single work has so far been located that bears the signature of any of the above painters from Constantinople. Even so, surviving works of the beginning of the fifteenth century allow us to speculate on what their artistic production might have looked like.

The specific *pala d' altare* that Philanthropenos was commissioned to paint in 1412 for Alessandro Barbo has not survived. Another Cretan altarpiece of the early fifteenth century, however—a polyptych originally from the church of San Stefano at Monopoli in Apulia and today in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston—gives us an idea of what such a work would have looked like (Figure 8.1).¹⁹ Seven separate pieces of wood constitute the work, which has immense dimensions: 2.40 m height and 3.10 width. The panels are surrounded by an elaborate carved and gilded wooden frame of Late Gothic type. The central and largest panel depicts the Virgin holding the Christ Child rendered in a purely Byzantine iconography and style. She is seated on a marble throne of western appearance. The side panels to the left depict SS Christopher, Augustine and Stephen, and those to the right St John the Baptist and SS Nicholas and Sebastian. It is obvious that the painter of the polyptych combined elements of Late Byzantine and Italian, mainly Venetian,

¹⁶ Constantoudaki-Kitromilides, "A fifteenth century Byzantine icon-painter," p. 266, n. 7. Constantoudaki-Kitromilides, "Viaggi di pittori," p. 717.

¹⁷ Constantoudaki-Kitromilides, "A fifteenth century Byzantine icon-painter," pp. 265–7. Constantoudaki has located in the Venetian archives more documents concerning the presence of Philanthropenos in Venice between the years 1430 and 1436 and his involvement in the mosaics of San Marco. Constantoudaki-Kitromilides, "Viaggi di pittori," p. 718.

¹⁸ Manoussakas, "Μέτρα της Βενετίας," pp. 96–7.

¹⁹ Maria Constantoudaki-Kitromilides, "Ένθρονη Βρεφοκρατούσα και άγιοι, σύνθετο έργο ιταλοκυπριακής τέχνης," *Deltion of the Christian Archaeological Society (DChAE)*, 17(1993–94): pp. 285–301.



Fig. 8.1 Boston, Museum of Fine Arts. Cretan polyptych, first half of fifteenth century.

iconography and style. Furthermore, the style of some of the figures in the polyptych can be described not simply as Late Byzantine or Palaiologan but as Constantinopolitan due to similarities that they appear to have with works of the capital, and especially with monuments such as the Chora Monastery.

Two miniatures from the manuscript W.335 at the Walters Art Museum, Baltimore stand as my second candidates in this discussion. One shows the Vision of the Apocalypse (Figure 8.2) and the other St John and Prochoros in front of the cave. This manuscript contains the Commentary on the Apocalypse of St John the Evangelist by Federigo da Venezia. Its colophon on fol. 189r says: *Scriptum atque completum fuit hoc celeberrimum opus Candide die X Augusti Octobriis ad laudem omnipotentis Dei, amen. Millesimo quadragentesimo quintodecimo* (This most distinguished work was copied to the end in Candia on the 10th day of August October for the glory of all-powerful God, amen. In the year one thousand four hundred and fifteen.)²⁰ Given that the text

²⁰ Demetrios Pallas, "Οι βενετοκρατικές μικρογραφίες Olschki του έτους 1415," *Πεπραγμένα του Β' Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου* (Athens, 1967), vol. 1, pp. 362–73. Hans Belting, *Das illuminierte Buch in der späthbyzantinischen Gesellschaft* (Heidelberg, 1970), pp. 70–71. Maria Vassilaki, "Παρατηρήσεις για τη ζωγραφική στην Κρήτη τον πρώιμο



Fig. 8.2 Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, miniature with the vision of the Apocalypse from a Cretan manuscript dated 1415 (W.335), fol. 2v.

15^ο αιώνα," in *Ευφρόσυνον. Αφιέρωμα στον Μανόλη Χατζηδάκη* (Athens, 1991), vol. 1, pp. 65–77, esp. 69–71, pls 19–20; repr. in English in Maria Vassilaki, *The Painter Angelos and Icon-Painting in Venetian Crete* (Farnham, 2009), pp. 203–24. See most recently the entry by Georgi Parpulov in Helen C. Evans (ed.), *Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261–1557)*, exh. cat., The Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York, 2004), no. 317, pp. 526–7 (Georgi R. Parpulov).



Fig. 8.3 Composite icon as shown in an old photograph from an auction catalogue (June 18–24, 1963) of the Galerie Fischer, Lucerne.

of the manuscript is in the Venetian dialect, the scribe who copied it was surely a Venetian; but the miniaturist, as the style of his painting suggests, must have been a Byzantine. The character of the manuscript's miniatures is entirely consistent with that of artistic production in Venetian Crete. This is especially clear in the miniature of the Vision of the Apocalypse, in which the depiction of St John in accordance with Late Byzantine style and iconography is harmoniously combined with a rendering of the Vision and of the castle in the background based on western models. Similarities between the figure of the sleeping St John and that of Jacob or Joseph from the Chora Monastery had been already pointed out in 1967 by Demetrios Pallas in his article on the miniatures of the Walters manuscript, which then belonged to the Olshki collection.²¹ Pallas also compared the rendering of the mountainous

²¹ Paul A. Underwood, *The Kariye Djami*, vol. 2 (New York, 1966), pls 152–3, 200–201. Pallas, "Οι βενετοκρατικές μικρογραφίες," p. 364.



Fig. 8.4 Recklinghausen, Icon Museum. St. Luke painting the icon of the Virgin Hodegetria (inv. no. 424).

background in the miniature containing the Vision of St John and that of the cave in the miniature of St John and Prochoros with similar renderings from the Chora mosaics and frescoes.

I come now to my third example: eight small panels, some of which are still missing today and others of which have been located in museums, galleries and private collections all over Europe, but which, as has recently been shown, all once belonged to a peculiar composite icon (Figure 8.3).²² The surviving panels are: St Luke painting the icon of the Virgin Hodegetria (Figure 8.4), today in the Icon Museum of Recklinghausen; the Crucifixion in the National Museum of Stockholm; two panels, one with SS George and Merkourios and the other with the prophets David and Solomon, both in a private collection in Athens.²³ The missing panels are: one with St Nicholas enthroned; a second with St John the Evangelist and Prochoros; and a third with the Descent into Hell.²⁴ I mention this work here as I believe it to be the work of a Constantinopolitan painter living and working in Candia circa 1400. The iconography and style of these panels clearly display the ability of the painter to work in two different manners—"alla maniera greca" and "alla maniera latina" or "italiana"—which was to become the typical characteristic of Cretan icon-painting from that time onwards.

It is puzzling that an icon such as the Triumph of Orthodoxy at the British Museum should have been attributed by Robin Cormack to a Constantinopolitan icon workshop and at the same time by Nano Chatzidakis to a Cretan one.²⁵ They are agreed, however, that it should be dated to around 1400. Cases like this are by no means rare. The question I would like to raise in relation to such ambivalent and ambiguous attributions is: how should one describe an icon produced by a Constantinopolitan painter working in Crete? As Constantinopolitan or Cretan? How, for example, should we label the icon of the Nativity of Christ from the Andreadis

²² Eva Hausteine-Bartsch, "Die Ikone 'Lukas malt die Gottesmutter' im Ikonen-Museum Recklinghausen," in Eva Hausteine-Bartsch and Nano Chatzidakis (eds), *Greek Icons: Proceedings of the Symposium in Memory of Manolis Chatzidakis in Recklinghausen, 1998* (Athens and Recklinghausen, 2000), pp. 11–28. Maria Kazanaki-Lappa, "Two fifteenth-century icons in a private collection," in Hausteine-Bartsch and N. Chatzidakis, *Greek Icons*, pp. 29–38.

²³ For the panel at Recklinghausen, Hausteine-Bartsch, "Die Ikone," pp. 11–28, pl. 12. For the panel of the Crucifixion at Stockholm, Ulf Abel with Vera Moore, *Icons* (Stockholm, 2002), no. 2, pp. 25–6. For the two panels in the private collection in Athens, Kazanaki-Lappa, "Two fifteenth-century icons," pls 24–5.

²⁴ They are all shown in an old photograph discovered by Eva Hausteine-Bartsch in an auction catalogue of the Eischer Gallery, Lucerne, of 18–24 June 1963. Hausteine-Bartsch, "Die Ikone," figs 22–3.

²⁵ Robin Cormack, "Women and icons, and women in icons" in Liz James (ed.), *Women, Men and Eunuchs: Gender in Byzantium* (London, 1997), pp. 24–51. See also the entries written by the same author on the occasion of the "Mother of God" and the "Byzantium 330–1453" exhibitions. Maria Vassilaki (ed.), *Mother of God. Representations of the Virgin in Byzantine Art*, exh. cat., Benaki Museum (Athens and Milan, 2000), no. 32, pp. 34–41 (Robin Cormack). Robin Cormack and Maria Vassilaki (eds), *Byzantium 330–1453*, exh. cat., Royal Academy of Arts (London, 2008), no. 57, p. 394 (Robin Cormack). Annemarie Weyl Carr in her entry for this icon in the "Byzantium: Faith and Power" exhibition catalogue adopts the view of R. Cormack. *Byzantium: Faith and Power*, no. 78, pp. 154–5 (A. Weyl Carr). Nano Chatzidakis, *Icons: The Velimezis Collection* (Athens, 1998), pp. 88, 90–91.

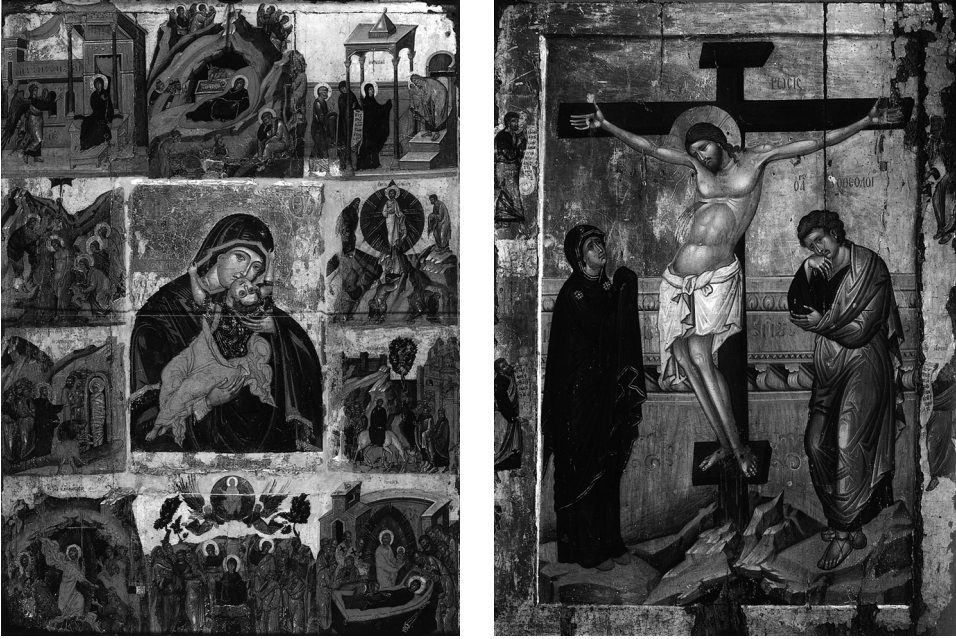


Fig. 8.5 Istanbul, Collection of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, from the church of the Holy Trinity at Halki. Two-sided icon. A: Mother of God Pafsolype with ten feast scenes; B: Crucifixion with four prophets.

collection?²⁶ Is it Constantinopolitan or Cretan? Or, what about the icon of the Prayer in Gethsemane from the Pinacoteca Nazionale in Bologna, which I published some years ago in the *Festschrift* to Manolis Chatzidakis?²⁷ Is it Constantinopolitan or Cretan?

One needs after all to define the art of Crete in the first quarter of the fifteenth century and before the emergence of the painter Angelos in the second quarter of that century.²⁸ The work of Angelos seems to rely heavily on the art produced in Candia in the first quarter of the fifteenth century. He must have learned the art of painting from the masters of the first quarter of the century—presumably the Constantinopolitan painters in Candia. It is not easy to decide whether or not Angelos had direct knowledge of the art of Constantinople, in the shape of such monuments as the Chora Monastery, but

²⁶ Anastasia Drandaki, *Greek Icons, 14th–18th Century: The Rena Andreadis Collection* (Milan, 2002), no. 4, pp. 24–35.

²⁷ Vassilaki, “Παράτηρήσεις,” pp. 65–77; repr. in English in Vassilaki, *The Painter Angelos*, pp. 203–24.

²⁸ On this painter see most recently Vassilaki, *The Painter Angelos*.

it is important to remember here that he composed his will on the occasion of a journey to Constantinople in the year 1436.²⁹

As this chapter is in a volume honoring our dearest friend and colleague Annemarie Weyl Carr, I cannot omit an icon which is one of her deepest and most enduring loves. This is the two-sided icon of the Virgin Pafsolype with Dodekaorton scenes on one side and the Crucifixion with four prophets on the other (Figure 8.5 = Plate 12). The icon belongs to the collection of the Ecumenical Patriarchate in Istanbul.³⁰ The central panel of the icon with the Virgin Pafsolype is believed to be of an early fourteenth-century date, but the rest—which is of more importance in this discussion—is dated to the third quarter of the fourteenth century. Annemarie has shown that this icon is the product of a Constantinopolitan workshop, but also that a connection exists between it and certain Cretan icons of the fifteenth century. An example is a composite icon with the Deesis, Dodekaorton scenes and saints on the border which bears the signature of the well-known Cretan painter Nikolaos Ritzos.³¹ This icon, once in the Serbian Orthodox church in Sarajevo, is of unknown whereabouts today. Nikolaos Ritzos appears to have followed the Dodekaorton scenes of the Pafsolype so closely that it is reasonable to suggest he may have seen it. The question that naturally arises then is: where and under what conditions?

All of the preceding works were chosen to illustrate a chapter entitled “Byzantine icon-painting around 1400: Constantinople *or* Crete?” I will avoid giving a concluding statement, but will instead slightly rephrase the title to read: “Byzantine icon-painting around 1400: Constantinople *and* Crete?”

²⁹ Manoussos Manoussakos, “Η διαθήκη του Αγγέλου Ακοτάντου (1436), αγνώστου κρητικού ζωγράφου,” *DChAE*, 2(1960–61): pp. 139–51.

³⁰ See the entry by Annemarie Weyl Carr in the exhibition catalogue *Byzantium: Faith and Power*, no. 90, pp. 167–9 (A. Weyl Carr).

³¹ P.L. Vokotopoulos, “Η εικόνα του Νικολάου Ρίτζου στο Σεράγεβο. Εικονογραφικές παρατηρήσεις,” *DChAE*, 26(2005): pp. 207–25. The artistic activity of Nikolaos Ritzos is documented in Venetian Candia between 1482 and 1503. Mario Cattapan, “I pittori Andrea e Nicola Rizzo da Candia,” *Thesaurismata*, 10(1973): pp. 252–3, 279–82. Manolis Chatzidakis, “Les débuts de l’ école crétoise et la question de l’école dite italogrecque,” in *Μνημόσυνον Σοφίας Αντωνιάδη* (Venice, 1974), pp. 182–3; repr. in Manolis Chatzidakis, *Études sur la peinture postbyzantine* (London, 1976), study no. IV. Manolis Chatzidakis and Eugenia Drakopoulou, *Ελληνες ζωγράφοι μετά την Αλωση (1450–1830)*, vol. 2 (Athens, 1997), pp. 333–4.

PART IV

THE NATURE OF COPIES

The Use of Çintamani as Ornament: A Case Study in the Afterlife of Forms

Jaroslav Folda

I am offering this chapter on çintamani to honor my friend and colleague, Annemarie Weyl Carr, in this volume because the history of its appearance and reappearance seem to me to parallel, in certain ways, her findings about the afterlife of forms in icons, in particular with regard to the icon of the Virgin of Kykkos. Çintamani is, of course, in one aspect, an ornamental design and therefore very different from an icon representing the likeness of the Virgin and Child. But çintamani also seems to have begun as religious imagery, even though its shape and meaning changed and developed over its long and interesting history. I will examine aspects of çintamani as ornament over an extended period of time, mainly from the sixth to the sixteenth century. But I hasten to say that my presentation is selective, and by no means do I wish to suggest that the examples seen in the thirteenth or the fifteenth/sixteenth centuries are the only examples; nor is 1600 the end of its existence as a viable ornamental or religious form. What I would like to present here are simply some remarks on the origins and development of çintamani as ornament and three of its “afterlife” manifestations, among many others. In doing this I hope, first, to honor my colleague Annemarie, and, second, to draw attention to a significant ornamental motif long neglected in the study of Western art—or at least in the study of Western art to about 1600.

First, what is çintamani? I first encountered the design as linked to this word in Ottoman Turkish art in the kaftans created for sultans, such as the striking examples from the fifteenth/sixteenth centuries for Mehmet II (r. 1451–81) and Selim I (r. 1512–20) now in the collection of the Topkapu Museum in Istanbul.¹

¹ J. Raby and A. Effeny (eds), 2001, *IPEK: The Crescent and the Rose*, London: Azimuth Editions, p. 30, pls. 46, 66; and P.T. Baker, 1996, “Textile patterns on royal Ottoman kaftans”, in *Silks for the Sultans: Ottoman Imperial Garments from Topkapı Palace*, Istanbul: Ertug & Kocabiyik, pp. 41, 58–87.

But the fact is that *çintamani* as a word and as a design is much older than Ottoman Turkey. Where does it originate?

The modern Turkish word "*çintamani*" appears to be derived originally from the Sanskrit, "*chinta mani*," meaning "the auspicious jewel."² Indeed, prior to its medieval and Turkish appearances as ornament, the word and the ornamental form is found in the religious beliefs and artistic works of Buddhism and Hinduism with the connotation of a magic jewel with special powers.³ One early artistic example of *çintamani* as ornament is found on frescoes in the Buddhist shrine at Mirān in Turkestan from the third century,⁴ and later examples can be seen in the Buddhist art of the Dunhuang Caves from the sixth century.⁵ As a result scholars identify its religious and artistic origin to be Buddhist. Be that as it may, an excellent later example of the artistic representation of *çintamani* with its Buddhist religious connotation still clearly indicated can be seen on an early fifteenth-century Ming dynasty Sutra cover found in Tibet, a work now in the Ackland Art Museum at Chapel Hill (Figure 9.1).⁶ At the center of the panel of cinnabar red lacquer is a gold-filled engraved design (*qiangjin* technique) of the "auspicious jewel," *çintamani*, suspended above a ritual vase surrounded by flames. It is flanked on either side by four of the eight auspicious Buddhist emblems.⁷ Represented

² R.S. McGregor, 1993, *The Oxford Hindu-English Dictionary*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, p. 314.

³ J. Bowker, 1997, *The Oxford Dictionary of World Religions*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, p. 224. Raby and Effeny, *IPEK*, pp. 298–9, identifies the design as Buddhist in origin.

⁴ B. Rowland, 1967, *Art and Architecture of India*, 2nd ed., Baltimore: Penguin, p. 112, pl. 60b.

⁵ At Dunhuang *çintamani* appears in Cave 249 on the east slope of the ceiling (vol. 1, fig. 23, top portion), and in Cave 285 on the east slope of the ceiling (vol. 1, fig. 31). In these examples the *çintamani* is represented as a crystal jewel, but the ornamental version of the design also appears in Cave 285 at the west end of the south wall above the first niche, where the triangular design of three discs is found on the leaves of trees growing on the sides of mountains (vol. 1, fig. 295, detail, and fig. 35, general view of cave interior with landscape over the right niche). Cave 249 and Cave 285 both date to the sixth century and Cave 285 has inscriptions dated 538 and 539. See Roderick Whitfield, 1995, *Dunhuang: Caves of the Singing Sands: Buddhist Art from the Silk Road*, Tokyo and London: Textile and Art Publications. For the text on Caves 249 and 285, see vol. 2, pp. 283–5. My colleague at the University of North Carolina, Wei Cheng-Lin, has also shown me even earlier ornamental examples, e.g., in Cave 17 at Qyzil from the fifth century.

⁶ These covers are unpublished. Each cover is 73 × 28.5 cm × 32 mm thick. They are dated 1410–16.

⁷ The eight Buddhist emblems are as follows:

1. The endless, glorious knot: symbol of Buddha's endless wisdom and compassion.
2. The lotus: symbol of purity and renunciation.
3. The right-turning conch shell: symbol of the supremacy of Buddha's teachings.
4. The parasol: symbol of royalty, protection, sovereignty of Buddha.
5. A pair of golden fish: symbol of happiness and spontaneity.
6. The Wheel of Dharma: representing knowledge.
7. A victory banner: symbol of Buddha's victory over evil.
8. The wheel: symbol of Buddha's teaching.



Fig. 9.1 Sutra cover found in Tibet, c. 1410, Ming dynasty.

this way, çintamani is an image of the wish-fulfilling jewel, attribute of various Buddhas and a symbol for the liberated mind.

We may also observe, however, that very shortly after its birth in Buddhist (and apparently also Hindu) theology and its appearance in Buddhist art, çintamani emerges as a beautifully simple ornamental design represented by the three discs or balls organized in a triangular configuration. Thus abstracted from its Far Eastern religious context and from its particular Buddhist or Hindu religious meaning, çintamani begins its widespread appearance in the Eastern world stretching from China to Persia and the Mediterranean region. One of the most handsome and remarkable early representations of this purely ornamental form can be found in Sassanian Persia, sometime before 600. Here you see the Zoroastrian sun god, Ahura Mazda, shown in a magnificent monumental sculptural ensemble in the cave shrine at Taq-i-Bustan in eastern Persia, a Sassanian work variously dated between the fourth and the sixth century. It is noteworthy that he is wearing luxurious silk garments with the çintamani design carved prominently over their entire surface.⁸

The early appearance of çintamani as artistic ornament at Taq-i-Bustan seems to suggest that the design was carried westward along the Silk Road as one important means of dissemination. Furthermore, whereas the evidence of the early appearances of the ornamental çintamani design can be found in a variety of artistic media, including textiles, painting, and sculpture,

⁸ S. Fukai and K. Horiuchi, 1969, 1972, *Taq-i-Bustan: The Tokyo University Iraq-Iran Archaeological Expedition Reports*, Tokyo: Yamakawa Shuppansha, vol. 1, p. iii; vol. 2, pls. 17–18. Taq-i-Bustan is located near Kermanshah in the Zagros mountains in western Iran, along the Silk Road. I would like to express my warm gratitude to Professor Karel Otavsky, former curator at the Abegg-Stiftung in Riggisberg, Switzerland, who found this example, and to his successor, Dr. Sabine Schrenk, curator of textiles and art before 1500, for drawing my attention to this important early example of the use of the çintamani design.

nonetheless they mostly seem to appear in silk or in representations of luxury silk garments. Thus, even though the process by which *çintamani* becomes abstracted into an ornamental design and transmitted to the West is certainly as yet not documented or well understood, the design appears to have reached the Mediterranean world and Western Europe by the early medieval period.

To summarize then, the evidence so far indicates that *çintamani* is Buddhist and perhaps Hindu in origin (but certainly not Chinese), and possibly the ornamental *çintamani* design originated in the Turkestani or Indian region along the silk routes.⁹ This means that unlike the medallion ornament design, identified and discussed by James Trilling (*The Medallion Style*, 1985), which was invented in Rome and spread rapidly to the Far East by means of Byzantine silk manufacture and trade starting in the sixth century, *çintamani* was invented in the East and spread rapidly to the West. A significant and surprising difference is that whereas the Byzantine silk industry was a major means of transmitting the medallion style to the East, it does not appear to have played any role in transmitting *çintamani* to the West.

The means by which *çintamani* was transmitted to the West is, as mentioned already, unclear and very little documented at best, but the appearance of the design by about 800 in early medieval art is not in doubt. Two remarkable examples of paintings with depictions of figures wearing luxury garments are found, e.g. in the Book of Kells. In the frontispiece image of the Virgin and Child enthroned, the Virgin's purple outer garment and her halo are decorated with this design.¹⁰ The ornament makes the Eastern icon-like image of this enthroned Virgin and Child in Ireland even more remarkable as a frontispiece to this famous codex. And among a number of other examples in this manuscript, the Kells evangelist portrait of St. Matthew also features the design liberally distributed over his outer garment and on his halo as well.¹¹ *Çintamani* appears in other Hiberno-Saxon codices also, but the images in the Book of Kells are the most arresting and important because, although no one

⁹ The Eastern origin and early development of *çintamani* is a very important issue, but not one we propose to discuss here. Suffice it to say that *çintamani*, unlike medallion ornament discussed by James Trilling, appears to come from the Far East, not from Rome as in the latter case. It is however striking that the medallion style suddenly emerges in the new Byzantine silk industry in the sixth century derived from Roman sources and then quickly spreads to the Far East. Meanwhile *çintamani*, invented in the Far East, was apparently spreading to the West, but not as part of the new Byzantine silk industry. On the medallion style, see J. Trilling, 2001, *The Language of Ornament*, New York: Thames & Hudson, pp. 112–13; Trilling, 2003, *Ornament: A Modern Perspective*, Seattle: University of Washington Press, pp. 57–61; and Trilling, 1985, *The Medallion Style: A Study in the Origins of Byzantine Taste*, New York: Garland.

¹⁰ Virgin and Child enthroned in the Book of Kells, Dublin, Trinity College Library, MS 58, fol. 7v. See e.g., C. Nordenfalk, 1977, *Celtic and Anglo-Saxon Painting*, New York: Chatto & Windus, pl. 43.

¹¹ St. Matthew the Evangelist, Dublin, Trinity College Library, MS 58, fol. 28v. See B. Meehan, 1994, *The Book of Kells: An Illustrated Introduction to the Manuscript in Trinity College Dublin*, London: Thames & Hudson, p. 37.

mentions the çintamani ornament on the main figures, they clearly reference luxury silk garments on New Testament figures from the Near East.

It is therefore significant that the early evidence we have for çintamani in actual samples of silk now in Western Europe originally come from the East in two well-known examples: The first is the so-called Shroud of St. Colombe and St. Loup, a silk from central Asia dating from the seventh/eighth centuries, now in the cathedral treasury of Sens.¹² You can see the çintamani design on the shoulders and haunches of the quadrupeds. The second example is the St. Josse-sur-Mer silk, from a church in a town near Caen in Normandy, an east Persian work done before 961, which is now in the Louvre in Paris. The çintamani design, though difficult to see at first, is found abundantly distributed over the bodies of the two elephants on this dyed silk.¹³ Although it is not clear exactly when these examples were brought to the West, they were both used to wrap precious relics, which is also how they came to be preserved in their respective churches.¹⁴

Because the number of extant examples of early silks with the çintamani design is so limited, it is difficult to assess a number of basic issues. For example, what was the original use intended for the Shroud of St. Colombe and St. Loup, or for the St. Josse-sur-Mer silk? It does not necessarily appear that these silks were used for garments. The problem is that both silks came from central Asia and are now in fragments—reused as pieces to wrap relics, as mentioned above. Furthermore, whatever their original intended use, when sericulture—the production of silk—was introduced into Byzantium by the Chinese during the sixth century we have no indication that the Byzantines took up the çintamani motif for their silk industry. Despite the existence of some vague approximations of the motif appearing as a decorative design in a medallion or flower-like setting, no certain example of çintamani used by the Byzantines prior to the fourteenth century can be found in any medium.¹⁵ This means that silks or possibly other media containing the çintamani design

¹² A. Muthesius, 1997, *Byzantine Silk Weaving: A.D. 400–A.D. 1200*, Vienna: Fassbaender, p. 198 (M104), pls. 44b and 49a.

¹³ A color plate of the main fragment of this silk (94 × 52 cm) is published by Marilyn Stokstad in the 3rd edition of her textbook, *Art History*, 2008, Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, p. 295, figs. 8–13.

¹⁴ For the Shroud of St. Colombe and St. Loup, see E. Chartraire, 1897, *Inventaire du trésor de l'église primatiale et métropolitaine de Sens*, Sens and Paris: Paul Duchemin and A. Picard, pp. 15–16, no. 13. Finding examples of çintamani in actual silks is difficult, and it is essential to inspect the actual silks. In the case of Chartraire and his published *inventaire* of the Sens treasury, we know that the St. Loup and St. Colombe shroud has çintamani on the quadrupeds, but his descriptive entry does not mention it; and his illustration on p. 15 changes the çintamani from three discs to three small crosses in a triangular configuration, therefore completely falsifying the evidence.

¹⁵ See, e.g., 1. the Zacharias silk (sixth–eighth century), or 2. an early mounted warrior roundel. For 1. see L. Langener, 1996, “413 Ärmelstreifen aus Seide mit Signatur eines Zacharias, antithetischen Reitern und Lanzenträgern”, in *Ägypten Schätze aus dem Wüstensand: Kunst und Kultur der Christen am Nil*, Wiesbaden: L. Reichert, pp. 360–62;

apparently came to the West from at least as early as c. 800, and later, to the Crusaders in the Near East in the second half of the thirteenth century, from the Far East, independent of Byzantium. And one of the most striking features of the use of the *çintamani* motif is that it is regularly used in the West and by the Crusaders in media which depict the representation of luxury garments, among other uses.

In order to illustrate these developments, let us consider three cases in the later medieval period. The first is a series of examples from Romanesque art in twelfth-century Europe. The second is in Gothic manuscript illumination from the thirteenth century in Paris. And the third is from Crusader icon painting from the later thirteenth century in the Latin kingdom. The set of works in the first example can apparently be regarded as reflecting direct later developments rooted in the stimulus that initially informed the artists of the Book of Kells. But the thirteenth-century examples can perhaps be seen as examples of the afterlife of the motif in Europe and the Crusader East.

Assuming that it was possibly by means of transmissions from silks—like the early examples cited above—to the paintings that such images as we saw in the Book of Kells were inspired and executed, we can note that *çintamani* goes on to be a widespread ornamental motif from 800 to 1200.¹⁶ It is found widely in Romanesque manuscript illumination, fresco painting, panel painting, enamels and sculpture in those years all over Western Europe.

From a wide selection of examples in the Romanesque style, I would like to focus initially on two outstanding works of sculpture. First, there is the wonderful sculpture of the Deposition by Benedetto Antelami, done in 1178 in Parma; and second, the famous capital of Christ enthroned from the Church of St. Martin at Plaimpied, also from the third quarter of the twelfth century. In these examples *çintamani* is distributed liberally over certain figures as we also noted in the Book of Kells, but the drilled-hole sculptural technique is very different from the painterly mode of small white or medium-sized white or gold colored discs. Furthermore, the density and distribution of the *çintamani* is handled very differently at Parma as compared to Plaimpied.

Benedetto Antelami is the third of three outstanding north Italian sculptors working in the Po Valley in the twelfth century. His famous panel of the “Deposition of Christ from the Cross” (1.1 × 2.3 m) is now located in the south transept of Parma Cathedral, but was apparently originally intended

for 2. see M. Durand, 2002, “114. Médallion au cavalier”, in *Égypte, la trame de l’histoire, textiles pharaoniques, coptes et islamiques*, Paris: Somogy, pp. 146–8.

¹⁶ I have cited a number of examples in the following article, which forms the basis and starting point for the present study: J. Folda, 2007, “Crusader artistic interactions with the Mongols in the thirteenth century: Figural imagery, weapons, and the *çintamani* design”, in *Interactions: Artistic Interchange between the Eastern and Western Worlds in the Medieval Period*, ed. C. Hourihane, Princeton and University Park: Index of Christian Art, Department of Art and Archaeology and Pennsylvania State University Press, pp. 158–9, with documentation.

to function elsewhere.¹⁷ The high quality of this work was recognized early in the twentieth century by A.K. Porter, who made the following comment: "From an iconographical point of view this Deposition of Benedetto possesses a dignity and importance equaled by few other medieval sculptures of Italy."¹⁸ But neither he nor other more recent scholars discuss the use of çintamani as an ornamental feature of this work.¹⁹

In the Deposition the çintamani design is used to help focus our attention especially on the seamless robe of Christ at the right, and also on two of the women standing at the foot of the cross to the left—Mary, mother of Jesus, and Mary Jacobi, as identified by the inscription on the plaque. The seamless robe is completely covered by the çintamani design, whereas it is only the outer garments of Mary and Mary Jacobi that have received this ornament.²⁰ The çintamani is produced by drilled holes in the three-dimensional surfaces of these components. These are holes that might have been filled at some point, but certainly this is a technique quite different from the carved çintamani in the form of raised flat discs in relief we found on the tunic of the sun god, Ahura Mazda at Taq-i-Bustan before 600. The drilled holes serve to emphasize the three-dimensionality of these elements, especially the splendid and vigorous curving forms in the space of Christ's robe. So the çintamani has been used as a design motif with a change in technique as chosen by the artist. But we may note that these examples of çintamani found on the Deposition once again focus on garments of New Testament figures from the Near East, comparable to what we found in the Book of Kells, including one of the most important garments of all, the seamless robe of Christ.²¹

¹⁷ A.C. Quintavalle, 1990, *Benedetto Antelami*, cat. eds A. Calzona and G.Z. Zanichelli, Milan: Electa, pp. 349–52, cat. no. 16, and illustrations on pp. 238–42. Original placements for this relief panel that have been suggested include the following: an ambo, a cathedra, a choir screen, and an altar frontal. I do not propose to enter this controversy here.

¹⁸ A.K. Porter, 1917, *Lombard Architecture*, vol. III, New Haven: Yale University Press, p. 162.

¹⁹ See e.g., Quintavalle, *Benedetto Antelami*, as in note 17; G.H. Crichton, 1954, *Romanesque Sculpture in Italy*, London: Routledge and Paul, pp. 57–9; Géza de Francovich, 1952, *Benedetto Antelami*, vol. I, Milan–Florence: Electa, p. 117; and Porter, *Lombard Architecture*, as in note 18.

²⁰ See Quintavalle, *Benedetto Antelami*, p. 242, for a photo detail of the seamless robe. It should be noted that Benedetto has combined other patterns of drilled holes, in particular, paired round holes and single round holes lined up in a sequence along with the three drilled round holes in a triangular configuration to form the çintamani design on the seamless robe and the garments of the two Marys. Nonetheless, there can be no doubt of the appearance of çintamani here as a focal design on these three garments, in contrast to those other figures who may have drilled round holes along the hems of their garments or on their shoes, but no çintamani. And we should note that it is a design that Benedetto uses here uniquely among his extant attributed work.

²¹ Although the seamless robe of Christ is prominently represented here, Parma had no claim on the actual relic. Possession of the relic of the seamless garment of Christ (Gr. *chitonarraphos*; Lat. *tunica inconsutilis*, John 19:23), for which the soldiers cast lots at the Crucifixion, is claimed by the cathedral of Trier in Germany.

The seated figure of Christ on the nave capital at the church of St. Martin at Plaimpied also has *çintamani* rendered as drilled holes over the surface of his outer garment—but only the upper and lower parts—by an anonymous French Romanesque sculptor working in “the Berri.”²² Although this work is not dated, it has been variously attributed to the 1140s ranging up to c. 1150 and therefore it appears to be slightly earlier than the Deposition, which was carved in 1178. Despite the relative closeness in dating, there is no reason to think that either sculptor knew the work of the other, and the different handling of the *çintamani* design at Plaimpied underscores how independent the sculptor was there.

The *çintamani* design appears seven times on the garment over the upper torso of the Plaimpied Christ, and four times on the garment covering the lower legs, and the designs are widely separated from each other. No other drilled hole designs are found on this figure, except in its eyes and ears, or on any other part of this capital. This is in contrast to the examples done by Benedetto where the drilled *çintamani* design is copiously and densely spread over the entire garment it decorates, and drilled holes proliferate in paired and single hole designs as well.²³ In both areas on the Plaimpied Christ, the *çintamani* serves to enrich the texture of the garments of Christ as he actively engages with the demons who are tempting him to each side.

With regard to the Plaimpied Christ there is moreover another important consideration. Attempts have been made in the past to link the Plaimpied Christ with the Nazareth Capitals excavated in 1908–09 at the holy site of the church of the Annunciation.²⁴ However, these attempts notwithstanding, the Plaimpied Christ appears to be stylistically the product of an artist distinctively different from the sculptor of the Nazareth Capitals.²⁵ The fact that the Nazareth Capitals do not exhibit the *çintamani* design in any technique only underscores this separation of hands. Indeed at Nazareth we find only individual drilled holes in sequence on the haloes and divider elements, along with the eyes and ears of the figures, on all the capitals. It is only on selected

²² P. Deschamps, 1932, “Un chapiteau roman du Berry, imité à Nazareth au XII^e siècle”, *Fondation Eugène Piot, Monuments et Mémoires*, 32, pp. 119–26, pl. XI. See also, Deschamps, 1990, *Terre Sainte Romane, Zodiaque*, 21, 2nd edn., La Pierre-qui-Vire: Zodiaque, pp. 245–8. Note that in the latter publication Deschamps uses a photo not of the original capital still at Plaimpied in the nave of the church of St. Martin, but a photo of a moulage of this capital made for Musée des Monuments Français. A photo of the original capital can be seen in his 1932 article.

²³ I have not been able to measure the size of the drilled holes (diameter or depth) on either work of art.

²⁴ See the very engaging article by Alan Borg, 1982, “Romanesque sculpture from the Rhone Valley to the Jordan Valley”, in *Crusader Art in the Twelfth Century*, ed. J. Folda, BAR International Series, no. 152, Oxford: BAR, pp. 97–119.

²⁵ See my survey of the literature on this issue: J. Folda, 1986, *The Nazareth Capitals and the Crusader Shrine of the Annunciation*, University Park and London: Pennsylvania State University Press, pp. 54–60.

capitals that we find additional passages with drilled round holes, which are always single drilled holes distributed or clustered on discrete parts of the composition, but none of these additional passages include çintamani.²⁶

The conclusions we can draw from these comparisons are interesting. Both Benedetto Antelami at Parma and the Plaimpié Master are using the çintamani design for a similar purpose, however differently it is applied. Both employ this motif to decorate as a special indication on the luxury garments of an important figure or figures. The design, widespread as it is, can be found on these important examples and on many other works of Romanesque sculpture in Western Europe during the twelfth century. However, this motif does not appear on any extant Crusader sculpture in the twelfth century from the Latin East. Given the absence of any particular new source of origin for this design East or West—that is, we have as yet no identifiable example on extant contemporary pieces of silk from the East or the West at this time—it appears that this çintamani appearing in Western Europe in the twelfth century is a further continuous development of the tradition established in the early medieval period for which the figures in the Book of Kells were cited above.²⁷ And, just as in the Book of Kells, the garments which received the çintamani design were very often garments of important New Testament figures from the Near East.

To demonstrate the widespread use of çintamani during the Romanesque period, we can consider some additional examples from elsewhere in Europe in the twelfth century as well. In choosing these examples we can inquire if our proposal that çintamani was regularly used to indicate the important garments of a significant figure from the East, as seen in the sculpture, is also valid, even when found in other media.

In Germany an interesting example of çintamani is found in a handsomely painted evangelary now in the cathedral treasury of Trier, MS nr. 142/124/67.²⁸ This codex, dated to c. 1173–75, was painted in Helmarshausen in an excellent High Romanesque style related to the Gospels of Henry the Lion, now in

²⁶ We see, e.g., individual drilled holes on the collar of the second apostle to the left of Christ on the St. Thomas capital. We see what one of my colleagues has called “garters” on the lower leg of the left-hand figure of the St. Peter capital, as well as distributed over the collar and garment of Christ and the boat at the right, on this same capital. We see individual drilled holes on the garments of several of the figures on the St. James capital. And we see individual drilled holes on the crown and collar of the seated king, and on the hairy demon on the St. Matthew capital. Finally there are drilled round holes on the collar of the apostle and the caps of the two demons on the rectangular Virgin capital. See Folda, *The Nazareth Capitals*, pls. 7–31.

²⁷ No examples are known, but all of the extant examples of silk cited in published inventories (and still accessible) such as that by E. Chartraire must be individually inspected for the existence of çintamani.

²⁸ F. Ronig, 1999, *Ein Romanisches Evangeliar aus Helmarshausen im Trierer Domschatz* (Ms. Nr. 142/124/67), Trier: Paulinus. See also the facsimile publication of this codex, with its commentary volume.

Wolfenbüttel. On fol. 90v of the Trier codex we find the Crucifixion of Christ on a green “tree of life” cross with Mary and John, Ecclesia and Synagoga, four Prophets and the sun and moon.²⁹ It is a richly allegorical rendering of the Crucifixion, but at the center of the image is the beautiful blue loincloth of Christ, covered with *çintamani* in white and red colors. Clearly the artist is seeking to identify the loincloth with special significance that goes beyond the ample folds and the special knot at the waist. By giving it the *çintamani* motif, the artist is indicating its importance and high status as the sole garment covering the physical body of Christ in his redeeming sacrifice on the cross. This is meaningful here because *çintamani* is used very sparingly in this codex, stressing the special privilege of this garment touching the body of Christ in this holy event, and our attention is partly drawn to the loincloth in this image by this means.³⁰

In Spain we can point to a contemporary painted antependium richly decorated with *çintamani*, with paintings focused on the Virgin and the infancy of Christ. This work comes from the hermitage of Santa Maria in Avià, near Berga and dates at the end of the twelfth century.³¹ The central panel contains the Virgin and Child enthroned. The left side panel includes two scenes above—the Annunciation and the Visitation—and below are the three Magi who approach the figures at the center. The right side panel has the Nativity above and the Presentation in the Temple below.

Çintamani appears on figures in each of five scenes found on this antependium, but it is primarily used to decorate the maphorion of the Virgin Mary and to indicate her importance as the focal figure on this altar frontal. In each appearance of the Virgin, she is depicted with a dark blue maphorion covered with tiny *çintamani* designs in white. The artist’s use of the design is nuanced by slight variations most notable on the maphorion of the enthroned Virgin. Here we find the three white discs of the design joined with a red disc at the center to give the *çintamani* a more jewel-like presence. By contrast the design appears unembellished on the Virgin of the Annunciation, the Nativity, and the Presentation. Tiny crosses substitute as the ornament of choice on the Virgin of the Visitation. Finally, two of the three Magi have *çintamani* on their cloaks.

Art historians have noted that the style of this artist has been influenced by English painting of the second half of the twelfth century, from painting at Canterbury and elsewhere in England, a phenomenon also known in other

²⁹ Ronig, *Ein Romanisches Evangeliar*, p. 24.

³⁰ This ornament appears on the garment of only one other figure in this book, namely on the blue cloak of the seated evangelist, St. John, on fol. 147.

³¹ K.F. Schuler, 1993, “Antependium with enthroned Virgin and Child”, in *The Art of Medieval Spain, A.D. 500–1200*, New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, pp. 326–7, no. 171.

works of Spanish Romanesque painting.³² But the English works adduced for comparison here do not include the use of çintamani as we find it here, so the evidence seems clear that the Spanish artist and the patron introduced it on this antependium for a particular purpose, to enhance its particular function. And that function, as seen in our previous examples, was to direct attention to major New Testament figures from the Near East. In this case that figure is the Virgin Mary, but in other Spanish Romanesque works it is Christ himself, as at the Pantéon de Reyes in San Isidoro de León.³³

Even though the works of English Romanesque painting compared to the Spanish antependium—that is, the murals in St. Anselm's Chapel, Canterbury, c. 1160, and the Thott Psalter, c. 1170—do not use çintamani at all, or use it only for secondary background decoration, other English works did include it on garments of focal figures.³⁴ Indeed, in one of the most famous English twelfth-century works, the St. Albans Psalter, the artist of the prefatory miniatures includes the design on certain figures in four scenes. The full-page miniatures in this codex, now in the cathedral library of Hildesheim (MS St Godehard 1), were done for the anchoress Christina of Markyate by an anonymous artist known as the Alexis Master working at St. Albans.³⁵

The miniatures in this codex are famous partly because of their outstanding quality and partly because this is the first extant Psalter with a prefatory cycle of full-page narrative scenes painted in the twelfth century. Out of the total of 40 miniatures in this cycle, only four contain çintamani: the images of the three Magi with the Virgin and Child (p. 25); the Descent from the Cross (p. 47); the image of St. Mary Magdalene with the Apostles (p. 51); and the Incredulity of Thomas (p. 52).³⁶ In each case the figures singled out with the çintamani design include those who are most important in each scene. In the image of the three Magi, the Virgin's dark maroon outer garment is given small white çintamani designs. It is almost as if she is a direct descendant of the Book of Kells frontispiece Virgin in this regard. In the Descent from the Cross, the second Mary in her red outer garment, who stands behind the Virgin, is given the ornamental design, always in white. Similarly, it is Mary Magdalene—also

³² Schuler, "Antependium", p. 327. The best-known other case of English influence on Romanesque Spanish art links paintings from Winchester with the frescoes at Sigüenza. See e.g., W. Oakeshott, 1972, *Sigüenza: Romanesque Paintings in Spain and the Winchester Bible Artists*, London: Harvey, Miller and Medcalf.

³³ A.V. González, 1995, *Pantéon de Reyes*, León: Edileisa, lamina 21. Careful inspection of the Christ in Glory in the central vault will reveal that the brown cloak of Jesus is covered with small white çintamani designs. These paintings date from c. the 1160s.

³⁴ For the Thott Psalter, see, C.M. Kauffmann, 1975, *Romanesque Manuscripts, 1066–1190*, London and New York: Harvey Miller, pp. 118–20, figs. 272–6. In this codex the primary use of çintamani is found in frames, borders and background decoration.

³⁵ J. Geddes, 2005, *The St Albans Psalter: A Book for Christina of Markyate*, London: Harvey Miller.

³⁶ Geddes, *The St Albans Psalter*, pp. 16, 38, 42, and 43.

in a striking outer garment of red—who is given the *çintamani* in white, in the scene where she tells the apostles of the resurrection of Christ. But in this case one of the apostles is linked visually to Mary Magdalene by the presence of the *çintamani* design on his uniquely dark maroon garment. Finally, at the event of the Incredulity of Thomas, it is Thomas in a red outer garment at the left, and another apostle—St. Peter—at the right in a dark maroon outer garment, who are given the *çintamani* decoration. It is harder to say what the significance of the *çintamani* may be in a narrative cycle such as this, where only selected figures are given this design. But certainly it is clear that among those figures who do receive the *çintamani* design are those who are major New Testament figures from the Near East, and in that respect they are comparable to the other examples we have seen elsewhere in Europe among our samples. What is evident in the St. Albans Psalter is the fact that the artist of this narrative cycle has begun to use the design on the garments of certain secondary individuals along with the primary figures.

There are a number of preliminary conclusions we can propose at this point as we reach the end of the twelfth century with these various European examples. First, there seems to be a continuous tradition for the use of *çintamani* that runs from the time of the Book of Kells to the end of the twelfth century in Western Europe. Second, one special theme for this use is that *çintamani* can be utilized to decorate the garments of important figures.³⁷ These figures are often biblical, and all of our examples have been New Testament; but we could also demonstrate the design used for Old Testament figures—all figures, that is, originally from the Near East. Third, it appears that part of what the *çintamani* design is meant to convey is that the garments worn by these figures are special—that is, luxury garments, often perhaps made of silk. And fourth, the appearance of the *çintamani* is, by and large, uniform in its early medieval presentation. That is, the design consists of very small triangular units made up of three discs, or three drilled holes. The discs are usually white in color, but may on occasion be some other color as well, such as red, blue, or even gold.

With these points in mind and a certain coherence in the widespread use of *çintamani* recognized for the period of c. 800 to c. 1200, we can point out that the use and function of *çintamani* seems to change in the thirteenth century in Western Europe. Indeed it is in the middle and later parts of the century that we encounter the first “afterlife” example I wish to consider. Although *çintamani* continues to appear in Gothic thirteenth-century Europe, the focus of its role substantially and abruptly changes. Although the decoration of garments continues, the programmatic focus on key figures decreases and new importance is seen with regard to background and marginal embellishment

³⁷ There are other uses of *çintamani* as well that we have not attempted to discuss here, uses where it is sometimes employed for background decoration or on frames and borders, or as ornament on elements forming painted letters as part of a text.

in, e.g., Gothic manuscript illustration. True, these functions had already appeared earlier in twelfth-century Romanesque examples, but now in the first half of the thirteenth century the latter two roles become more significant in many cases. There are, of course, a few exceptions—that is, examples where the design continues to appear on the garments of figures, including some important figures, as in earlier manifestations. But the fact is that çintamani becomes more ornamental and less programmatic.

A major sample of variable use is provided by the Moralized Bibles created in Paris under royal sponsorship from c. 1215 to c. 1240. In particular, we can consider the *Biblia de San Luis*, the three-volume Bible Moralisée now in the cathedral treasury in Toledo, Spain. This work is remarkable partly because it is in such pristine condition, and partly because it is now more accessible by means of the handsome facsimile published in 1999.³⁸ For the issue of çintamani, it provides some interesting evidence.

In the *Biblia de San Luis*, despite the enormously large number of opportunities for use, çintamani is much less of a major factor in the programmatic sense of focusing attention on a major figure. While there are two or three examples of such use, e.g., the image of God the Creator on fol. 1v at the start of Genesis in volume 1, the majority of çintamani examples are more attuned to decoration. Consider the fact that there is very little çintamani in the two Old Testament volumes (1 and 2) but a great deal in part of volume 3, which contains the New Testament material.³⁹ In this regard, it is interesting that the use of çintamani seems to be an ornamental choice of certain artists. In volume 3, consider how it appears. The Gospel images contain numerous examples of the design on the garments of a variety of figures from fol. 1v to fol. 24r. Then abruptly, on fols 25v to 32r, there is no çintamani at all. Then use of the design resumes on numerous figures on each folio from fol. 33v to 64r. But then the design completely disappears from fol. 65v to the end of the volume on fol. 190r, with only one exception.⁴⁰ Nor does any çintamani appear on the eight leaves of Revelation now in the Morgan Library, New York, facsimiles of which are bound into this volume; this includes the famous dedication page with the Queen and King, the Scribe and the Illuminator.

³⁸ I first studied these three volumes in Toledo in the summer of 1970, and I have found it rewarding to return to them often. The new facsimile is the *Biblia de San Luis*, Barcelona: M. Moleiro, 1999, 3 volumes.

³⁹ The çintamani on this image is interesting because it is in gold, not just painted on, and the triangular discs are joined with a semi-circular arc beneath them, also in gold. It appears quite exotic as a result and gives the garment a decidedly Eastern flavor. Similar çintamani in gold with the golden arcs also appear on the garments of Judith on fol. 167v where, in a series of scenes, she is introduced to Holofernes, enters his tent and kills him, wearing a magical looking robe with these designs.

⁴⁰ The one exception is the image of the harlot from Book 17 of Revelation, which appears on fol. 187v.

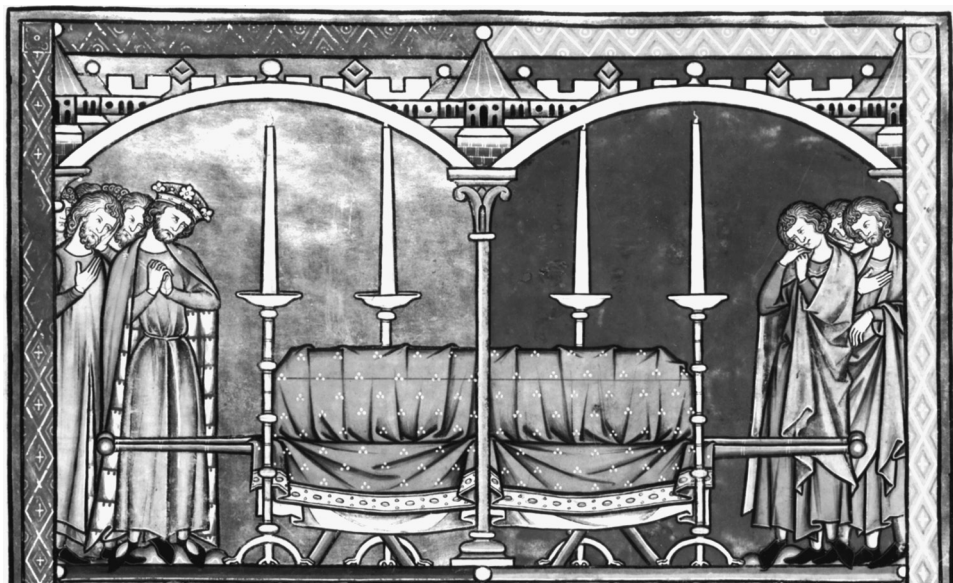


Fig. 9.2 The obsequies of Abner from II Kings 3:31–4. Morgan Old Testament Picture Book, Morgan MS 638, fol. 38r. Paris, c. 1240.

It is clear in this particular Moralized Bible that *çintamani* is used by one or two artists, but not by the overwhelming majority working in the royal atelier on this project.⁴¹ But the way it is used is changed from what we found in earlier Romanesque books. Indeed, in some major commissions in the first half of the thirteenth century, such as the famous Morgan Bible Picture Book (Morgan Library, MS 638)—most likely created in Paris under royal sponsorship in the 1240s—very little *çintamani* appears to have been used, and all of it for incidental decoration: on the caparisons of a few horses or on some architecture, with one exception.⁴² The one exception is however quite remarkable, and for the purposes of this discussion it marks the first example of what we might call the afterlife of the *çintamani* design in Gothic art.

On fol. 38r we find a large image of the stately obsequies of Abner (Figure 9.2). Abner's coffin is the focal point, singled out by having a rich and beautiful

⁴¹ We must, of course, point out that each Moralized Bible differs in the details of its imagery and use of ornament. What we find in the *Biblia de San Luis* will not be the same as what we find in Vienna MS 2554 or Vienna MS 1179, or the Oxford-Paris-London *Bible Moralisée* with regard to imagery or ornament.

⁴² On MS 638, see J. Plummer (ed.), 1969, *Old Testament Miniatures: A Medieval Picture Book with 283 Paintings from the Creation to the Story of David*, New York: e.g. p. 37 (on the white caparisons of the horses and on the blue interstices of the lower gables), p. 183 (on the blue caparison); D. Weiss et al., 1999, *Die Kreuzritterbibel/The Morgan Crusader Bible/La Bible des Croisades*, Lucerne: Faksimile, p. 289.

pall covering the bier. The somber brownish fabric is enriched by copious white colored çintamani spread over its surface. Here King David is honoring his lamented relative with special recognition conveyed by the sumptuous textile that covers the coffin of the deceased. In the context of Paris c. 1240 such a cloth would have evoked the exotic splendor of the East for this Old Testament hero in this, the sole image in MS 638 to feature programmatic use of the çintamani design.

A similar special case can be found 20 some years later in Paris for another major illustrated codex. In the St. Louis Psalter (BNF MS lat. 10525, fol. 17v), the most famous royal manuscript of the third quarter of the thirteenth century, made for King Louis IX c. 1260, there is also a single important special representation with çintamani.⁴³ This one exception, in effect an afterlife example of the çintamani design as used programmatically in the earlier Middle Ages, is found in one of the 78 narrative full-page miniatures that introduce the Psalter text.

The example (Figure 9.3) appears in the scene of Joseph and his brothers at the well (Genesis 37:25–30). Joseph wears what has come to be known in English as his “coat of many colors” from Genesis 37:3.⁴⁴ The Latin Vulgate text reads “tunicam polymitam”; however, no standard iconography developed in Gothic Bible illustration from this verse in Western Europe. In particular, in the Joseph story imagery of the Bibles Moralisées patronized by the royal family and created in Paris in the first half of the thirteenth century, Joseph’s coat is regularly monochrome without decoration.⁴⁵ But here in the full-page miniature of the St. Louis Psalter, Joseph’s coat is blue with the white çintamani design spread over its surface. Furthermore, in the 78 full-page miniatures of this famous book, Joseph and his beautiful coat is the only figure to receive the çintamani design, thereby indicating the artist’s wish to single out Joseph’s garment for special importance.⁴⁶ The use of çintamani is clearly intended to

⁴³ See H. Stahl, 2008, *Picturing Kingship: History and Painting in the Psalter of Saint Louis*, University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, color plate fol. 17v.

⁴⁴ From the Wycliffe Bible of the 1380s and the King James Bible of 1611 at Genesis 37: 3.

⁴⁵ See, e.g., the imagery in Vienna MS 2554 (c. 1215/30), in the *Biblia de St. Luis* in Toledo (c. 1220s/30s), or in the Oxford codex, Bodley MS 270b (c. 1230s/40s). For Vienna MS 2554, see B. Guest, 1995, *Bible Moralisée*, London: Harvey Miller, p. 61 and the illustrations on fols 7r and 7v. For the Toledo *Biblia*, see the 1999 facsimile, *Biblia de San Luis*. Joseph’s coat only appears in the episode of the brothers showing the garment to Jacob at Genesis 37: 31–2, fol. 18r, where a monochrome coat is smeared with red, for the blood, and pockmarked with black holes. For the Oxford Moralized Bible, Bodley 270b, see A. de la Borde, 1911, *La Bible Moralisée illustrée conservée à Oxford, Paris et Londres*, vol. 1, Paris: Société française de reproductions de manuscrits à peintures, pl. 23, fol. 23v.

⁴⁶ Stahl, *Picturing Kingship*, color plates for fols 1–78r. Artists can be found representing significant garments like the “coat of many colors” in various ways to express its importance. Çintamani is used here in the manuscript to indicate the “Easternness” of the garment, its special character as made from luxury material, as well as its importance. Joseph’s coat of many colors is represented differently in other traditions, with no çintamani. See, e.g., the Pre-Raphaelite painting by Ford Madox Brown, *The Coat of Many Colors* (1864–66), now in



Fig. 9.3 Joseph in his “coat of many colors,” from Genesis 37:25–30. St. Louis Psalter, BnF MS lat. 10525, fol. 17v. Paris, c. 1260.

focus on a Near Eastern figure of great importance and a famous garment he wore, but this time, as in the MS 638 example, from the Old Testament instead of the New Testament.

The question is, what could the source of the newly identified *çintamani* have been? Where did the stimulus come from and why did the artist, or his patron the king, decide to use it here? These are questions we are not yet in a position to answer directly, but another example of the afterlife of the *çintamani* design in the thirteenth century may add to the issues involved. My next example of the afterlife of *çintamani* appears in icon painting in the Crusader East in the second half of the thirteenth century.

The Afterlife of *Çintamani* in the Crusader East

There is a well-known image of St. Sergios with a female donor, most likely created in the 1260s in Acre that is now in the Monastery of St. Catherine, Mt. Sinai. It is a small icon in which St. Sergios on horseback appears with his cloak billowing in the wind, a cloak covered with the *çintamani* design (Figure 9.4). The Crusader characteristics of this icon have long been recognized, but discussion of the use of the *çintamani* design is more recent. I have argued elsewhere that the stimulus may be derived from Crusader contact with

the Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool. Here Madox Brown wanted to show the coat as Eastern and special, but he said he used Assyrian and Egyptian examples of garments found in books in the British Museum as his models. The coat he painted looks Eastern, with special rectangular-shaped embroidery, but it looks like a garment done in one of the Palestinian villages by tribal needleworkers. See M. Bennett, 1984, “The coat of many colors”, in Leslie Parris (ed.), *The Pre-Raphaelites*, London: Tate Gallery, pp. 206–8, cat. no. 129.



Fig. 9.4 Icon of St. Sergios on horseback, with female donor. Monastery of St. Catherine, Mount Sinai, Acre, c. 1260s.

the Mongols, both in terms of their alliance realized briefly in 1260 and in their missionary, commercial and artistic exchanges.⁴⁷ With regard to artistic interchange, this included silks carried along the Silk Road, and paintings

⁴⁷ Folda, 2007, "Crusader artistic interactions," pp. 161–6, and Folda, 2007, "Mounted warrior saints in crusader icons: Images of the knightships of Christ," in *Knightships of Christ: Essays on the History of the Crusades and the Knights Templar, Presented to Malcolm Barber*, ed. N. Housley Aldershot: Ashgate, pp. 90–99.

done by Arabs or Mongols known mainly today from the Baghdad School in the latter part of the century.

Besides the possible Mongol stimulus in the mid-thirteenth century, however, there is now evidence for the presence of *çintamani* in Syrian Christian painting in the years around 1200 that may have also been a factor. First, in the monastery of Mar Musa al-Habashi, northeast of Damascus in Syria, its church survives with a substantial program of fresco painting intact. This church is important because it constitutes the only full program of medieval Christian fresco painting to have survived in greater Syria. In this program the mounted figure of St. Bacchos appears on the south wall of the nave. This image, quite damaged when first published by Erica Dodd, has now been conserved and restored, and a color picture of it appears in the 2004 article by Mat Immerzeel.⁴⁸ It is clear that copious *çintamani* appears on the cloak of St. Bacchos, as we see with somewhat less density on the Sinai icon of St. Sergios; but in addition it appears on the tunic sleeve of St. Bacchos, unlike what we see on St. Sergios. The fresco at Mar Musa belongs to the third layer of painting in the nave; hence it must date between 1192 and 1208. And it is important to note that other figures found in these frescoes exhibit *çintamani* as well. There is, e.g., St. Mark with *çintamani* on his cloak, in the spandrel of an arch on the south side of the nave, and Sts. Julia and Barbara on the southwest soffit of the nave.⁴⁹ Several figures in the Last Judgment composition on the west wall also have this ornament on their garments: a bishop and two of the kings in the fourth register; St. Peter, the angel holding the pan of the scales; and two young martyrs behind them in the fifth register.⁵⁰ All of these figures are on the proper right side of the Prepared Throne, that is, on the side of the blessed. Also, we find a large figure standing in the bema of the church here: St. Basil to the left and, in the center, the Child's garments of the Virgin Blacherniotissa.⁵¹ All of the *çintamani* at Mar Musa is fairly uniform with small, tight triangular configurations of small white discs.

The presence of the *çintamani* at Mar Musa sheds new light on the possible sources of this ornament for Crusader painters in the thirteenth century, but

⁴⁸ E.C. Dodd, 2000, *The Frescoes of Mar Musa al-Habashi: A Study in Medieval Painting in Syria*, Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, p. 51, pl. 2. *Il Restauro del Monastero di San Mosè l'Abissino, Nebek, Siria*. P. Dall'Oglio et al., 1998, *Il Restauro del Monastero di San Mosè l'Abissino, Nebek, Siria*, Damascus: Ministero degli Affari esteri, documents the conservation and restoration work of the Istituto del Restauro in Rome and the Syrian Department of Antiquities in Damascus in the 1990s. M. Immerzeel, 2004, "Holy horsemen and crusader banners: Equestrian saints in wall paintings in Lebanon and Syria", *Eastern Christian Art*, 1, pp. 46–7, 56–7, and pl. 19. Different dating has been proposed for this layer of the frescoes: Erica Dodd has argued for 1192–93; Dall'Oglio has proposed 1208. See p. 57.

⁴⁹ Dodd, *The Frescoes of Mar Musa*, pl. XII, 44.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, pls. II, XVI, 72, 73a, and the descriptions on pp. 142–4. These are the major extant figures with *çintamani*; other fragments exist as well but are not identifiable, e.g., pl. 55.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pls. 17, 19a, b, 22a, b.

it raises the important question of just where the Syrian Christian artists may have learned about it. The fact is that çintamani appears to have been part of the artistic repertoire among Syrian Christian artists by the end of the twelfth century in the areas we call Syria and Lebanon today. Besides the examples of Mar Musa, we also find this ornament in a second example: at the monastery church of Mar Phocas in Amioun, Lebanon. This church belonged to the Seigneurie of Besmedin during the Crusader period, and a certain Philippe was the donor of the main frescoes that survive. Chief among them is a scene of the Anastasis in the main apse of the church, which was done in the late twelfth century.⁵² These paintings are therefore more or less contemporary with the work at Mar Musa; but where the artists of the latter were clearly Syrian Christians painting in a local Syrian style, here at Mar Phocas the artists were more intensely trained in the Byzantine style, with strong links to Cyprus even if they were "Syrian."

The appearance of çintamani in Crusader icon painting and in Syrian Christian painting is a remarkable phenomenon made even more remarkable by the absence of this ornamental design in either Byzantine silk or in Byzantine painting until some time after the demise of the Crusader States in 1291. Future research will help to clarify what role each of the major artistic and cultural traditions played in this pulse of interest in çintamani in the Near East, an afterlife that possibly includes—besides Crusader and Mongol participation—Muslim (meaning Mamluk), Frankish or Buddhist traditions, along with other possibilities. What the revived interest in çintamani among the Crusaders indicates, however, is that the basic tradition in which the design is associated with the garments of ruling, aristocratic, military, priestly or other holy figures is restated in an entirely new cultural and artistic context. In this Crusader art we are still searching to understand what symbolic importance it may have, if any, beyond its obviously pleasing ornamental design.

The lack of çintamani in late medieval or Renaissance art in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries sets the stage for my last case of the afterlife of çintamani, which appears in the mid-sixteenth century. In 1557 the great Italian painter Titian was commissioned by King Phillip II of Spain to do a painting of the Entombment. The original work was completed and shipped, but was lost en route. Titian quickly executed a replacement, which now hangs in the Prado, Madrid (Inv. 440). Then, some years later, Titian did a third painting of the Entombment, which in 1572 was presented by the Venetian State as a diplomatic gift to Antonio Pérez, the colorful secretary to Phillip II. In 1585 this painting was also acquired by the king and it too now hangs in the Prado (Inv. 441) (Figure 9.5).

⁵² E.C. Dodd, 2000, *Medieval Painting in the Lebanon*, Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, pp. 39–41, 158–63, pls. I–X.



Fig. 9.5 Titian, painting of the Entombment, with Joseph of Arimathea, c. 1570.

Titian's third Entombment conspicuously introduces *çintamani* on the robe of Nicodemus, who, together with Joseph of Arimathea, is placing Jesus very carefully in the sarcophagus.⁵³ Even though the contract for the third Entombment is not extant, it is clear that the introduction of *çintamani* in this painting was a significant and carefully chosen idea. The *çintamani* seen here consists of large dark blue discs on Nicodemus's rust-brown tunic, clearly a reference the Turkish design we have noted earlier with regard to *kaftans* of the Turkish sultans.⁵⁴ Although the color scheme Titian used has

⁵³ Very little attention has been paid to the *çintamani* design in this painting in the literature. I owe my knowledge of it to Patricia Thompson, who wrote an impressive MA thesis on this work: Patricia Taylor Thompson, 2002, "'Discepolo di Notte' and 'Glorioso Principe': Titian's last Prado entombment", University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill. Pat Thompson was the former Art Librarian at UNC Chapel Hill. It was my good fortune to have served on her MA thesis committee.

⁵⁴ See above, note 1. The *çintamani* design was clearly very popular in Turkey c. 1500 ff. and many examples of it are known from having been produced in Bursa. Two interesting examples now in the collection of the Los Angeles County Museum of Art were exhibited in the show, with its catalogue, *At the Edge of Asia: Five Centuries of Turkish Textiles*, mounted in the Santa Barbara Museum of Art in 1983. See M. Peebles, "Dress or furnishing fragment", and "Part of a chasuble", in the catalogue, nos. 1 and 2. The creative use of the *çintamani*

no link to extant kaftans from the Ottoman court in Istanbul, there can be no doubt about the Turkish significance intended here. The presentation of this painting to Antonio Pérez came one year after the notable Christian naval victory over the Turks at the Battle of Lepanto in 7 October 1571. The Venetian State was sending this painting to Phillip II's secretary at the same time that Sokullu Mehmed Pasha, Grand Vizier and Grand Admiral of the Ottoman fleet, was negotiating a peace with the Holy League, consisting of Venice, Spain, Genoa and the Papacy. Awareness of Turkish culture was apparently widespread in the West, especially in Venice, and this example of çintamani is prime evidence for this.

It was Titian's brilliant idea to clothe Nicodemus—the "night Pharisee" of John's Gospel (3:2)—in the distinctive garment of a member of the Turkish court, with the notion of conversion associated with it. Beyond this I cannot go right now; the full meaning and content of this work is a rich topic for which this is not the appropriate venue. What is notable for our purposes, however, is the fact that the çintamani design that reappeared at the Ottoman Turkish court of sultans—from Mehmet II, conqueror of Constantinople in 1453, to Süleyman I (the Magnificent) and his successors in the sixteenth century—had traveled East to West once more. This time it is appropriated by Titian in Venice in 1572 for the figure of Nicodemus, in a painting that would then travel to Spain. In this appearance of course, the characteristics of the çintamani are somewhat different: the dark blue color of the discs and their large size are typically Turkish and not linked to the medieval examples we have discussed above. Moreover it is unlikely that Turkish interest in the çintamani design had anything to do with the earlier medieval tradition.

In conclusion: the appearance of çintamani in the early Middle Ages in the West up to twelfth-century Romanesque art—with an afterlife in thirteenth-century Gothic art and Crusader icon painting in the later thirteenth century, in fifteenth-/sixteenth-century silks commissioned for the Turkish sultans; and in a painting by Titian in 1572 in which he appropriates this Turkish design for its "Easternness"—demonstrates how the design has flourished in many different circumstances as a signifier of rank and status on garments in figural art. These afterlife appearances are all apparently independent. These manifestations of the afterlife of this deceptively simple ornamental design seem to be special flourishes, set against the existence of çintamani as part of the repertoire of ornament more generally. Seen in that light, one question I can leave you with is this: as the study of çintamani goes forward—in terms of where and when it appears and how it is used—will it be possible to recognize symbolic meaning in the use of the design when it appears in special circumstances such as we have presented here in this discussion, and in others there was no time to present? Specifically, if we think we can see the

design in both of these examples is impressive, and reflects the popularity of the design in early Ottoman Turkey.

reason for the use of çintamani in the tunic of Nicodemus by Titian, can the role of this ornamental design in a later afterlife be of any help in evaluating the meaning of the use of çintamani in earlier examples, such as we saw on the garments of the Virgin and St. Matthew in the Book of Kells? There are of course many other questions that come to mind; too many to attempt to address here and now. What, if anything, does the differing size of the elements of the çintamani design signify? Why are those elements of the Book of Kells Madonna so small, whereas those of the tunic of Nicodemus, so large? What does the differing coloration indicate? Whatever the answers to these questions may be, çintamani is a major ornamental motif that is too important and too widespread to be ignored in the history of art, East and West.

Twice is Not Enough: The Biography of a “Byzantine” Crucifixion Ivory

Anthony Cutler

Happy is she who spends her life in the domain of the beautiful, the historically situated, the authentic. Even before the time when Annemarie Weyl Carr progressed from the realm of manuscript illumination to that of works on a larger scale—above all, wall- and icon-painting on Cyprus—she has shown a healthy (and all too rare) skepticism about her own opinions. I think particularly of the moment when, six years after she first attributed a psalter in Athens to Cyprus and 14 years after she first set foot there, she realized that “there was not room on the island for the sheep whose skins comprise the many ‘decorative style’ books, much less for the people who consumed the mutton and commissioned the books.”¹ What she has never needed to doubt is the genuineness of the things that she deals with. While their dates, places of origin, and meanings may be the subject of debate, their authenticity is not in question—a blessed state, not given to us who labor in the vexed field of ivory carving. To signal my appreciation for Annemarie’s life’s work and, no less important, our friendship of a lifetime, I offer this little study of what is indubitably a fake but, one that, uniquely in my experience, was—as an Elizabethan poet might describe it—“twyborn.”

Before that point, however, it might be worth scrutinizing the anatomy of the industry; not the practices of those who worked ivory in the Middle Ages but those who, in modern times, and in attempts to carve things that look medieval, have made carving a business. *Exposés*, convincing or otherwise, of individual

¹ A. Cutler and A. Weyl Carr, “The Psalter Benaki 34.3: An unpublished illuminated manuscript from the family 2400,” *Revue des études byzantines* (REB) 34 (1976), 281–323, esp. 313–21. A. Weyl Carr, *Cyprus and the Devotional Arts of Byzantium in the Era of the Crusades* (Aldershot and Burlington, VT, 2005), vii.

pieces are not rare,² but for obvious reasons there is little profit for the specialist who, as against identifying hitherto unknown, authentic examples, pricks the balloon of belief that hovers above would-be genuine artifacts in the minds of ever-sanguine dealers, collectors, and, on occasion, museum curators. This relative neglect has meant that the scope and scale of the forgery industry today (and indeed since the late nineteenth century) remains unrecognized.³ That most such objects remain unpublished contributes, of course, to their continuing circulation in the antiquities market. Given the nature of the trade, it is impossible to quantify its components, but some indication of their number is suggested by the fact that I receive, on an average of one a month, photographs of ivories—and once, via registered post, the things themselves.⁴ A similarly rough statistic, albeit with converse results, is provided by their “success” rate: of more than 120 “new” ivories that I have studied in the last ten years, two have turned out to be authentic.⁵ The frequency of this commerce and the scarcity of successes point not only to the extent of the industry but also to ignorance of the criteria—technical, stylistic, and iconographic—with which adjudications can be made. Suffice it to mention that as of this writing (July 2010), the object on which I have most recently been consulted was brought to my attention by Sotheby’s of London. It was an ivory pendant (a genre unknown in Byzantium) with two lobes, containing half-length figures of Peter and Paul holding attributes and depicted with their “traditional” physiognomies. But the key-holding figure is identified by inscription as PAVLOS (*sic*) and the bald apostle with a book as ΠΕΤΡΟΣ. The first vowel in the latter’s name is reversed and both names end with a modern sigma.

² See, e.g., S. Boyd and G. Vikan, *Questions of Authenticity among the Arts of Byzantium* (Washington, DC, 1981), no. 11; D. Denny, “The Last Judgment tympanum at Autun: Its sources and meaning,” *Speculum* 57 (1982), 536.

³ An early and overlooked indication of the scale of the industry is provided by Westwood, who was informed by a Dr Keller of Zürich that “at Giesslingen, Wurtemberg (*sic*), between Ulm and Stuttgart (*sic*), there is a constant manufacture of all kinds of ivory, wood, and metal productions carried on.” See J.O. Westwood, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Fictile Ivories in the South Kensington Museum* (London, 1876), xiii.

⁴ Sent by a collector in New Jersey, this is a full-length image of St. Demetrios ὁ μυχροβλήτης labeled with impossible ligatures and armed with a lance with three crossbars, a mantle that falls to his ankles, and splendid boots of the sort still worn today by some Cretan shepherds. The plaque continues to circulate in the market. An almost identical piece is to be found in the J.F. Willumsens Museum, no. 1649, in Frederikssund, Denmark. A third version, without the preposterous Roman eagle on the saint’s cuirass, is in the Schnütgen Museum, no. B.28, in Cologne. And a fourth, no more authentic than any of the others, appears in the central panel of a metal triptych offered by Hampstead Auctions in London on 11 April 2009. The estimated price was £150–250; it sold for £39,000. See *Antiques Trade Gazette* 1885 (2009), 42. I am grateful to Yanni Petsopoulos for this information. The rash of new Demetrios plaques seems to have been produced by the (then) forthcoming proclamation of Thessaloniki as Cultural Capital of Europe in 1997 and its attendant exhibitions.

⁵ See A. Cutler, “A Byzantine triptych in medieval Germany and its modern recovery,” *Gesta* 37 (1998), 3–12; A. Cutler, “The Lansdowne fragment and the sex of angels,” in J.D. Alchermes (ed.), *ΑΝΑΘΗΜΑΤΑ ΕΟΡΤΙΚΑ: Studies in Honor of Thomas F. Mathews* (Mainz, 2009), 118–23.

Even without the help of science, then, epigraphy can be sufficient to detect a forgery.⁶ But the ivory that is the object of this present study lacks even this aid. There are no letter forms or demoticisms to fuss about; nor is there anything much wrong with its overall iconography. While almost everything is right with it in this respect, in every other regard almost everything is wrong with it. The piece is palpably, unquestionably a fake. This charge needs to be substantiated. I shall do so on old-fashioned grounds—in terms of style, undergirded by considerations of technique, the necessarily fundamental element of form—for this is where the piece's truly pathognomonic symptoms are most in evidence.⁷

I first encountered this Crucifixion (Figure 10.1 = Plate 13) thanks to Yanni Petsopoulos, the London dealer, in 2003. It measured

8.4 × 5.2 × 1.0 cm, this last dimension being unusually thick for a plaque of so small an area but not unparalleled among Middle Byzantine ivories.

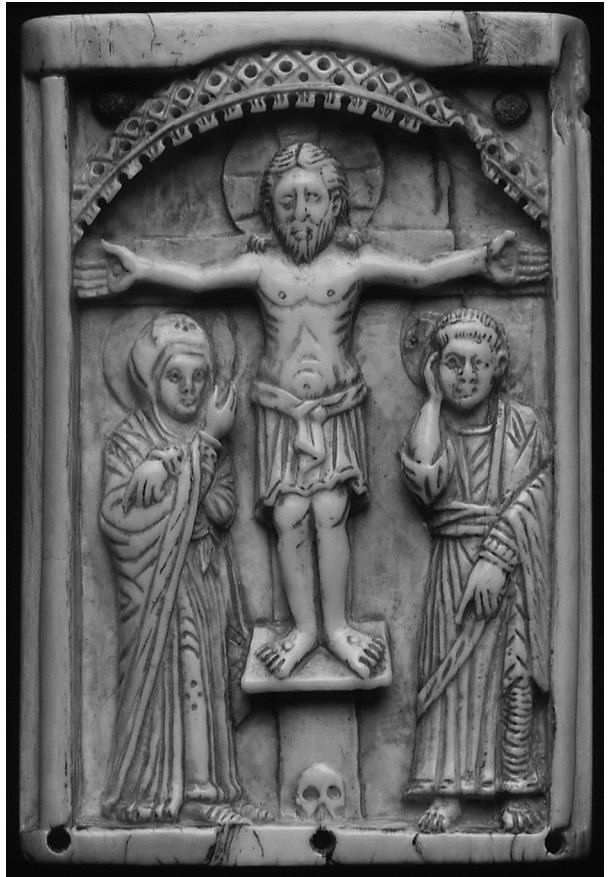


Fig. 10.1 Ivory Crucifixion plaque, as in 2003 and 2007. Front.

⁶ For a critique of such “objective” approaches, see J. Spier, “Blinded with science: The abuse of science in the detection of false antiquities,” *Burlington Magazine* 132 (1990), 623–31. But on the value of radiocarbon dating see P. Williamson, “On the date of the Symmachi panel and the so-called Grado Chair ivories” in C. Entwistle (ed.), *Through a Glass Darkly: Studies in Byzantine and Medieval Art and Archaeology Presented to David Buckton* (Oxford, 2003), 47–50, and Cutler, “The Lansdowne fragment.” On the utility of DNA identification, see A. Cutler and A. Götherström, “African or Asian? DNA analysis of Byzantine and western medieval ivories,” in *Elfenbein und Artenschutz* (BFN-Skripten 228) (Bonn, 2008), 73–80.

⁷ I have been accused of practicing “art history without style”: U. Koenen, “Elfenbeinforschung ohne Stil? Die Stellung der Stilkritik im Kanon alternativer Methoden,” in B. Klein and B. Boerner (eds), *Stilfragen zur Kunst des Mittelalters: Ein Einführung* (Berlin, 2006), 81–94. See my response in “Addenda and corrigenda,” in A. Cutler, *Image Making in Byzantium, Sasanian Persia and the Early Muslim World* (Farnham and Burlington, VT 2009), 4.



Fig. 10.2 Ivory Crucifixion plaque, as in 2003. Oblique view from below.

This girth is especially evident in a photograph taken obliquely from below (Figure 10.2). So, too, its reverse (Figure 10.3) suggests that the still uncarved plaque was sectioned in such a manner as to exploit the maximum available width of the material: the vertical striations that run the length of either side denote areas towards the (unusable) exterior of the tusk, while the central “shadow,” diminishing as it rises toward the top, represents the once adjacent pulp cavity.⁸ So far so good. Yet even this surface, usually neglected by commentators because it bears no figural imagery, occasioned some unease, for its edges were chamfered as if to make the plaque more pleasing to the hand.⁹ This feeling, however, was nothing compared to the disquiet prompted by the borders of the plaque when seen from the front. Beyond undecorated

⁸ For a more detailed account of methods of production see A. Cutler, *The Hand of the Master: Ivory, Craftsmanship, and Society in Byzantium (9th–11th Centuries)* (Princeton, 1994), 79–109.

⁹ Chamfering, a manmade “improvement” on the tusk’s natural rotundity, rarely occurs on the edges of Byzantine plaques. For one example see Cutler, *Hand of the Master*, 31–2 and figs. 28, 29.

shafts that rise above the springing of the lacy canopy, and thus do not even lay claim to support it as they do on a variety of tenth- and eleventh-century ivories,¹⁰ extend flanges homogeneous with the rest of the frame but too thick to act as tenons that could have attached to the wings of the triptych. The heads of two massive nails remain in the spandrels in the upper corners of the frame, ostensibly signs of the plaque's secondary use and out of character with the holes drilled in the lower part of the frame.¹¹

These anomalies pale, however, in comparison with those presented by the figures themselves. As against every other ivory Crucifixion of which I am aware, Christ is a purely frontal figure, his head neither averted nor lowered so that his chin drops on to his chest. Although arms that scarcely sag and bare kneecaps occur on a number of other plaques, his body, suspended but unsuffering, offers no sign of his death upon the cross and thus subverts any basis for the notion of resurrection implicit in all such Christian imagery. This absence makes all the more ironic Mary's and John's exaggerated expressions of pain. Her complicated, cross-armed pose—as much that of a contortionist as of a grieving mother—contrasts bathetically with the reserved, even genteel, gestures that Mary normally makes. So too, John's raised right hand, pressed to his ear as if he is telephoning the news, is unparalleled in any other images save for the problematical, but still probably Byzantine, Crucifixion



Figure 10.3 Ivory Crucifixion plaque, as in 2003. Reverse.

¹⁰ A motif apparent across many ivories of different types and subject matter. See, e.g., A. Goldschmidt and K. Weitzmann, *Die byzantinischen Elfenbeinskulpturen des X.–XIII. Jahrhunderts*, 2: *Reliefs* (Berlin 1934, repr. 1979), (hereafter cited as GW 2), nos. 4–6, 26, 28 (see fig. 11.3), 104, 155–9 and passim. These examples also demonstrate that excision of part of the upper frame to accommodate the apex of the canopy is unknown on ivories of the Crucifixion.

¹¹ Attachment holes for pegs are confined to the frame in the pieces cited in note 10 and others.



Fig. 10.4 Ivory Crucifixion plaque, Copenhagen, Nationalmuseet.

in Copenhagen (Figure 10.4).¹² Indeed, given that this piece offers the only other instance of the apostle's left hand pointing to the base of the cross, one is momentarily tempted to suggest that it served as a model for our forger.¹³

Nothing could be further, however, from the etiolated figures on the Copenhagen ivory than the lumpy, disproportionate bodies on the new plaque. While its carver understood that in the name of naturalism Christ's arms, John's raised limb and the *souppédion* on the cross should be undercut, how little this sense of plasticity translates to the garments is evident in Figure 10.2 where the shallowness of the cavities at the hem of Christ's loincloth is apparent, not to speak of the corresponding area around John's ankles. Furrows in the drapery seem occasioned more by whim than by gravity: the splay over his right thigh and the horizontal v-shaped nest on the Virgin's are all but meaningless, while the patterns on the apostle's left shoulder and right elbow bear no relation to any stress imposed on the underlying fabrics by the act of wearing them. Similarly, the folds of flesh on the sides of his kneecaps are not only out of place but say nothing about the complex anatomies of these areas.¹⁴ In contrast to these superficial markings the limbs are adequately modeled. Christ's arms, his pectoral muscles and shin bones bear some resemblance to the shape of these forms in nature, even while his broad flat feet and John's (each with only four toes) are caricatures of these extremities in human beings.

It remains to describe the material condition of the ivory as it appeared in 2003, a topic I have postponed to this point because it has direct bearing on the transmogrification it would undergo thereafter. Physically if not aesthetically no worse off than a dozen Middle Byzantine plaques, damage to it was essentially limited to the upper right corner, where whatever caused the fracture in the frame was surely responsible for the loss of part of the canopy. Below this point—as can best be seen on the reverse (Figure 10.3)—the break runs through the ground of the ivory, parallels the right side of the cross-bar and descends to John's head. Another distinct but narrower fissure runs down the left side of John's mantle and tunic, thus conforming to the principle that breakage tends to occur along preparatory contours imposed by the carver, further exemplified by the crack at left that follows the edge of Mary's outer garment.¹⁵ All in all, then,

¹² On this plaque see Cutler, *Hand of the Master*, 171–3. For the varieties of John's gestures in this context, see H. Maguire, "The Depiction of Sorrow in Byzantine Art," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* (DOP) 31 (1977), figs. 38, 39, 65, 66.

¹³ Despite the loss of this area in Copenhagen, it is doubtful that it contained the skull. Very few Byzantine plaques (GW 2, nos. 103–7) display this motif, the norm being a shell or, more rarely, a cluster of pegs supporting the cross. Only one plaque (GW 2, no. 196), itself a suspect work, presents a skull, upright and complete save for the mandible, as on our plaque.

¹⁴ Better observed is the musculature of Christ's abdomen which, together with his navel, is represented on most images of this sort. See the example cited in note 10 above.

¹⁵ Cutler, *Hand of the Master*, 101–2, 106–9.



Fig. 10.5 Ivory Crucifixion plaque, as in 2003 and 2007. Front.



Fig. 10.6 Ivory Crucifixion plaque, as in 2007. Reverse.

my resistance to the Crucifixion's first state depended not so much on its "archaeological" condition or (broadly speaking) its iconography as on its formal characteristics and above all the gross stylistic solecisms on which I have remarked above.

These objections I communicated to Petsopoulos. What, if anything, he did with them is unknown to me; for my part, I put the plaque out of my mind as just another fake among the scores that I had previously examined. Such objects are normally swept aside by the invisible hand that rules the clandestine antiquities market. One can imagine my surprise then when I was asked by Christian Schmidt, a well-known collector in Munich, my opinion of an ivory he had been offered. This, it turned out, was 2 mm shorter and 2 mm narrower than the "earlier" piece, but in considerably worse condition (Figure 10.5 = Plate 13). The large nail-heads remained, but below these sections of the canopy had been cut out, as had much of the skull of the foot of the cross. More cruelly, a large irregular section to the left of Mary had been excised, as well as the lower left-hand corner of the frame. New breaks had been introduced in the ground on either side of Christ's head and, perhaps most radically, large areas of both the obverse and reverse had been "aged," even while the three figures had been polished to heighten the contrast with the newly encrusted surfaces (Figures 10.6



Fig. 10.7 Ivory Crucifixion plaque, as in 2007. Detail.

and 10.7). As Dr Schmidt said to me at the time, “according to its conditions it must have been excavated if it is authentic.”¹⁶

Since he was unaware of the plaque in the state that I had first examined it, he could not know that the falsification further involved cutting back the horizontal bar in Christ’s halo. The off-centre nimbus of John—unjustified since the apostle’s head, unlike that of the Virgin, is not turned toward Christ—would have been a better candidate for “treatment.” Nothing, of course, could be done about the Lord’s absolute frontality, John’s “telephone” right hand, their splayed feet and other features to which I had originally objected; but the offending flanges at the vertical edges had been trimmed at the same time as the lower border was reduced. Schmidt acknowledged the essential identity of the “two” plaques when I sent him photographs and, naturally, chose not to buy it.

Even this rejection did not deter the person or persons who owned it from continuing to peddle the object. In the last manifestation of which I am aware, the plaque was offered at auction in 2010.¹⁷ Initially interested in acquiring what was there described as a “rechteckige Beinikone,” the director of the

¹⁶ Email communication of 7 February 2007.

¹⁷ Gerhard Hirsch Nachfolger, Munich, 9 February 2010, auction cat. 265, no. 662. The object was there said to have come from an English collection and, presumably because it

Dumbarton Oaks Museum, after I had informed her of the history that I have just recounted, made the same decision as Christian Schmidt.¹⁸ Clearly, the remanufactured ivory commanded no more assent than it had in its original version. One lesson of this sorry and convoluted tale is to reinforce a gently put but cogent warning uttered a decade and more before the Crucifixion first appeared on the market: “unlike human defendants, art objects without provenance should perhaps be considered guilty until they are proven innocent.”¹⁹ I hope that it also exemplifies an earlier remark to the effect that “Nonsense is nonsense, but the history of nonsense is scholarship.”²⁰

was supposed to be bone, estimated to sell at what would have been the remarkably low price of 5,000 euros.

¹⁸ Email communication from Gudrun Bühl, 11 February 2010.

¹⁹ C. Elam, “Editorial: The truth about fakes,” *Burlington Magazine* 132 (1990), 615.

²⁰ S. Lieberman, “How much Greek in Jewish Palestine?” in *Biblical and Other Studies*, ed. A. Altman (Cambridge, MA, 1963), 135.

The Salvation of the Soul and the Road to Heaven: The Representation of the Ladder of Divine Ascent in the Vatopedi Katholikon

Rossitza B. Schroeder

I met Annemarie Carr one life-altering August day in 1997, and since then I have been convinced that she is epitome of perfection—an outstanding scholar and the kindest, warmest human being. Here I offer in her honor a study of Byzantine perceptions of perfection and ways of obtaining it. But there is more—the image I discuss, that of a symbolic ladder of virtues with monks climbing it and angels aiding them on one side, reflects my own relationship with Annemarie Carr: I as the monk laboring up the ladder and she as the ethereal angel lifting me when I am about to fall down.

The Byzantine representations of the ladder of virtues are based on an edifying work written by the monk John in the seventh century in the monastery on Mount Sinai.¹ The author is known as John Klimakos, or of the Ladder, and his work as *The Ladder of Divine Ascent* or *The Heavenly Ladder*. The book discusses the break with the world, and outlines the struggle of the monk with various vices and the cultivation of virtues. John compares advancements in spiritual perfection to the climbing of a ladder on top of which Christ awaits the successful aspirants.²

John's book was first illuminated in the tenth century; the oldest extant illustrated copy is preserved in the library of St. Catherine's on Mount Sinai (cod. gr. 417). The ladder is depicted three times on the pages that follow the portrait of the author on fol. 13r; its rungs are numbered and correspond with

¹ John Klimakos, *Scala Paradisi*, in PG 88:632–1209; for the purposes of this article I will use the English translation, John Climacus, *Ladder of Divine Ascent*, trans. C. Luibheid and N. Russell (New York, 1982).

² J. Chrysavgis, *John Climacus: From the Egyptian Desert to the Sinaite Mountain* (Aldershot, 2004), 27–8; Climacus, *Ladder of Divine Ascent*, 289.

the individual chapters of the book.³ From the tenth century on visual images of the ladder are frequently included in the manuscripts with Klimakos's homonymous work; frequently, they are simple and unadorned, "framing" the table of contents.⁴ In a group of books produced from the eleventh century onward, however, the ladder is incorporated in more elaborate compositions. These could contain full-length images of the author John; monks who struggle on the ladder and who occasionally could be distracted by demons and encouraged by angels; Christ who awaits those who made it to the top; and a dragon who lurks below and swallows anyone who falls off.⁵

While a considerable number of ladders are found in Byzantine manuscripts, very few are incorporated within the monumental programs of Byzantine churches. There are four images, and they are all very different, reflecting the particular circumstances and needs of their audiences. Thus the artist who frescoed the heavenly ladder in a hermitage in the Peloponnese (1211) used simplified iconography, with the ladder stretching up with its rungs inscribed with single virtues.⁶ The painters of the other three ladders—in the south aisle of the church of St. Nicholas at Manastir in the Republic of Macedonia (1271), in the narthex of the church of St. George at Omorphokklesia (late thirteenth century) and in the exonarthex of the Vatopedi katholikon on Mount Athos (1312)—employed a more elaborate iconography which includes the figures of monks, angels, demons, and Christ at the summit greeting the successful aspirants. A dragon at the base of the ladder gobbles up the fallen ones.⁷

Here I will consider the more peculiar and elaborate of the ladders—the one in the Vatopedi monastery (Figure 11.1 = Plate 14). Not only does this depiction contain all of the iconographic elements mentioned above, but it is also unusually tied to a representation of a sumptuous, secular banquet placed next to it on the same wall. This study is an analysis of the afterlife and transformation of Klimakos's text for, and within, the specific context of the monastic community in Vatopedi in the early fourteenth century.⁸

³ J. Martin, *The Illustration of the Heavenly Ladder of John Climacus* (Princeton, 1954), 10, 186–7, figs. 1–4.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 11.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 11–19.

⁶ N.V. Drandakis, "To askētērion tēs Analēpsēs sto Myriali tou Taigetou," in *Thymiamata stē mnēmē tēs Laskarinas Boura*, 2 vols (Athens, 1994), 1:84–5; 2:42.6.

⁷ P. Kostovska, "The concept of hope for salvation and Akakios' monastic programme in St Nicholas at Manastir," *Zbornik za likovne umetnosti* 39 (2011), 57–8, fig. 14; E. Tsigaridas, "The mosaics and the Byzantine wall paintings," in *The Holy and Great Monastery of Vatopaidi: Tradition, History, Art*, 2 vols (Mount Athos, 1998), 1:262–3. The image of the ladder in Omorphokklesia remains unpublished, but is briefly discussed by S.E.J. Gerstel, "Civic and monastic influences on church decoration in late Byzantine Thessalonike," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 57 (2003), 234.

⁸ Here I should note that the popularity of John's book grew exponentially in the late Byzantine period (1261–1453), providing an appropriate context for the monumental images of the ladder. For example, from the manuscripts of Klimakos's text catalogued in



Fig. 11.1 The Heavenly Ladder of John Klimakos, fresco, 1312. Exonarthex of the Vatopedi katholikon, Mount Athos.

the libraries on Mount Athos and dating between the tenth and nineteenth centuries, about half were produced between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries, with the fourteenth century marking the peak in the interest in the text. See S.P. Lambros, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts on Mount Athos*, 2 vols (Cambridge, 1895, 1900). At least one fourteenth-century manuscript was copied in the Vatopedi monastery, further revealing the interest in John's work amongst the members of this particular community. See *ibid.*, 1:216.

A dedicatory inscription in the exonarthex of the katholikon attests that Klimakos's ladder was painted in 1312.⁹ The image is located on the north wall of the outer vestibule, prominently framing the entrance to the chapel of St. Demetrios. It spills over onto the east wall, but only fragments survive because a door was built through the frescoes at the beginning of the nineteenth century.¹⁰ Fourteen scenes from the Passion of Christ and his Resurrection create the visual context for the image. The cycle begins on the north wall of the exonarthex with the Last Supper, which is followed by the Washing of the Feet and the explanation that Christ provided for his disciples. It continues on the east wall with the Prayer on the Mount of Olives, the Betrayal, and the Leading of Christ to the Praetorium. It concludes on the south wall with the events that immediately preceded the Crucifixion, followed by the Deposition and Lamentation, the Resurrection, and the Mission of the Apostles.¹¹ On the west wall an image of a young Christ Anapeson represented as a reclining infant embraced by Mary and attended by three angels with the instruments of the Passion symbolically summarizes the sacrificial aspect of the program.¹² The emphasis of the pictorial ensemble is on the last days of Christ's life and thus on Lent, the most penitential period of the ecclesiastical year. It is hardly coincidental that the image of the heavenly ladder is incorporated in this context given that since the thirteenth century John Klimakos's memory was celebrated during the Lenten period, and that the reading of his text was considered especially appropriate for this time of year.¹³

The ladder composition is identified on top with an inscription as "the salvation of the soul and the road to heaven."¹⁴ The inscription is placed above the physical door that leads into the chapel of St. Demetrios, implying that

⁹ G. Millet et al., *Recueil des inscriptions chrétiennes de l'Athos* (Paris, 1904), 15–16.

¹⁰ I.A. Papaggelos, "Post-Byzantine wall paintings," see <http://www.pemptousia.com/2011/10/post-byzantine-wall-paintings> (accessed June 7, 2012).

¹¹ For a description and discussion of the program, see E. Tsigaridas, "Hoi toichographoi tou katholikou tes mones Vatopediou," in E. Papadopoulou et al., eds, *Byzantio kai Serbia kata ton XIV aiona* (Athens, 1996), 401–25; Tsigaridas, "The mosaics and the Byzantine wall paintings," 220–84.

¹² Tsigaridas, "The mosaics and the Byzantine wall paintings," 262, 272, fig. 229. For Christ Anapeson, see B. Todić, "Anapeson: Iconographie et signification du thème," *Byzantion* 74 (1994), 134–65.

¹³ G. Bertonière, *The Sundays of Lent in the Triodion: The Sundays without Commemoration* (Rome, 1997), 92; for reading Klimakos's text during Lent, see for example the liturgical typikon of the Evergetis monastery in A. Dmitrievskiy, *Opisanie liturgicheskikh rukopisey*, 3 vols (Kiev, 1895–1917), 1:524, 526, 529.

¹⁴ The shape of the letters indicates that the inscription might be of a later date, as the whole patch of the wall where it is placed seems to have been repaired, perhaps in the nineteenth century when the exonarthex was repainted. See Tsigaridas, "The mosaics and the Byzantine wall paintings," 259. Even if this were true, it is not impossible that this is simply a reiteration of an earlier inscription which was severely damaged before the repairs took place, as is the case with the inscription that provides the 1312 date for the original frescoes. See, Millet, *Recueil des inscriptions*, 16.

the passage through the narthex is an inseparable part of the spiritual ascent. Another inscription, barely visible and placed between the figure of Christ and the last rung of the ladder, reads "agape" or "love." This is likely in direct reference to the thirtieth and last chapter of Klimakos's work, entitled "On Faith, Hope and Love," which discusses the crowning virtue of any ascetic—love for God—and its effects on the monk's existence.¹⁵ It is not impossible that the word was intended also to invoke the agape meals which were very likely held in the exonarthex.¹⁶ The multiple associations of agape might have been facilitated by the prominent association of the ladder with a secular feast painted to the left.

The Vatopedi ladder stretches from the floor to the ceiling, metaphorically connecting earth to heaven; it is densely populated by monks eagerly climbing it, with their clothes flowing dramatically to indicate their struggle. A group of angels flutter to the right, encouraging their ascent. The monks are painted in a variety of acrobatic body postures, with limbs intertwined with the individual rungs of the ladder. A monk near the top of the ladder, for example, is depicted with his body twisted in an impossible way. He is a Byzantine *figura serpentinata* intended to visualize the hesitation of the monk as he is being seduced with a glass of wine by a demon hovering to the left.¹⁷ Spiritual perfection is pictured as a collective effort dependent on both the body and the soul.¹⁸ The restlessness of the body reflects the actual restlessness of the mind.¹⁹

An angel on top of the ladder opens a door from which Christ emerges framed by a blue heavenly segment. The representation of a door is unique among the ladder compositions, both in manuscripts and in church interiors. This iconographic feature ties the spiritual ascent to the physical door below,

¹⁵ Climacus, *Ladder of Divine Ascent*, 286–90. For the importance of the concept of agape or love in an illustrated mid- tenth-century manuscript of Klimakos's *Ladder*, see K. Corrigan and N. Ševčenko, "'The teaching of the ladder': The message of the Heavenly Ladder images in Sinai ms. gr. 417," in A. Lymberopoulou, ed., *Images of the Byzantine World: Visions, Messages and Meanings. Studies Presented to Leslie Brubaker* (Farnham, 2011), 99–120.

¹⁶ For the double meaning of agape in relation to ladder imagery, see Corrigan and Ševčenko, "The teaching of the ladder," 111.

¹⁷ On the meaning of this posture in Byzantine art, see H. Maguire, "The self-conscious angel: Character study in Byzantine paintings of the Annunciation," in *Okeanos: Essays Presented to Ihor Ševčenko on His Sixtieth Birthday by His Students and Colleagues* (= *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 7 [1983]), 377–92.

¹⁸ Cf. Chrysavgis, *John Climacus*, 59–61; Gregory Palamas, *The Triads*, trans. N. Gendle (New York, 1983), 41–55.

¹⁹ For images of difficult body postures as reflective of the exertion of the soul, see J. Hamburger, *The Rothschild Canticles: Art and Mysticism in Flanders and the Rhineland circa 1300* (New Haven and London, 1990), 52, 58; W. Simons, "Reading a saint's body: Rapture and bodily movement in the *Vitae* of thirteenth century Beguins," in S. Kay and M. Rubin, eds, *Framing Medieval Bodies* (Manchester and New York, 1994), 10–23. For the tendency to visualize in the late Byzantine period mystical experiences through representations of body postures and gestures, see I. Drpić, "Art, hesychasm, and visual exegesis: Parisinus Graecus 1242 Revisited," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 62 (2008), 238.

emphasizing the importance of the movement forward and the passage from one realm into another. Christ is painted leaning and grasping the hand of the monk who has successfully accomplished the spiritual climb. The association with the salvific gesture of Christ plucking Adam from Hades is unmistakable and evokes ideas of resurrection and deliverance. The incorporation of the representation of the Anastasis in the Vatopedi exonarthex, in which Christ tramples over the cross-shaped doors of Hades, would have reinforced this visual association.²⁰ To the left and bad side of the ladder, a group of black demons distracts and harasses the monks, pulling their garments and dragging them away from the rungs. Some have succeeded: individual monks fall headlong into the mouth of the dragon painted at the bottom of the composition. As mentioned above, the composition continues on the east wall but it is only partially preserved. Here a group of monks, some of whom were overpainted in the early nineteenth century, is led by the sainted figure of John Klimakos. They are represented approaching the ladder from the right and are placed in front of the exterior of a church, which in its general appearance might have been inspired by the outline of the sacred buildings in the Vatopedi.²¹

As indicated by the lack of any formal separation, the image of the monks ascending the ladder should be considered paired with a representation to the left of a secular banquet. A group of aristocrats is represented in a palatial setting, enjoying music, conversation, and an abundant table laden with silver bowls, knives, and embroidered napkins. The host is probably the man depicted at the center of the table wearing a hat decorated with an image of a horseman.²² The high social status of his guests is indicated not only by the rich fabrics of their garments, but also by their hats, which during the Palaeologan period became the most distinct feature of the Byzantine aristocratic costume.²³

²⁰ The association between the ladder and the Anastasis is further facilitated by the image of Hades who, with his wild flying hair, dark contorted body and wings, resembles the demons who distract the monks climbing the ladder. For an image of the Anastasis in the Vatopedi, see E. Tsigaridas, "The wall paintings of the exonarthex," see <http://www.pemptousia.com/2011/10/the-wall-paintings-of-the-exonarthex-the-wall-paintings-of-the-katholikon> (accessed June 6, 2012).

²¹ For an image, see Papagelos, "Post-Byzantine wall paintings."

²² This is unlike what one would expect to see during imperial banquets where according to protocol the most important figure sits at the right end of the table (S. Malmberg, "Dazzling dining: banquets as an expression of imperial legitimacy," in L. Brubaker and K. Linardou, eds, *Eat, Drink, and Be Merry (Luke 12:19): Food and Wine in Byzantium. Papers of the 37th Annual Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, in Honour of Professor A.A.M. Bryer* [Aldershot and Burlington, 2007], 84, fig. 11.2). For sitting arrangements in Byzantine monasteries, see A.-M. Talbot, "Mealtime in monasteries: The culture of the Byzantine refectory," *ibid.*, 112–14. See also K. Chryssochoidis, "From the Ottoman conquest to the 20th century," in *The Holy and Great Monastery of Vatopaidi*, 1:71, fig. 50 for a twentieth-century photograph of the Vatopedi abbot at the center of the table surrounded by the monks on both sides. For hats like the one worn by the central figure, see M. Parani, *Reconstructing the Reality of Images: Byzantine Material Culture and Religious Iconography (11th–15th Centuries)* (Leiden and Boston, 2003), 70.

²³ Parani, *Reconstructing the Reality of Images*, 69 and n. 69.

Facial features and details in dress indicate the different ethnic origin of some of the participants in the feast.²⁴

The striking difference between the two worlds is achieved by showing the monks moving up agitatedly and the aristocrats sitting in relaxed yet lively poses at the table. The use of color is also especially effective at conveying this difference: the black, gray, brown, and light pink hues of the monks' clothing and of the angels' attire are juxtaposed with the brilliance and color exuberance of the banqueters' garments. The feast can easily be defined as eye-catching—it attracts attention and shocks the mind with its, at first sight, rather incongruous subject matter. Yet, visual links are provided, forcing the audience to think about the secular banquet in relation to the spiritual ladder. One of those links is a curious couple of a demon and an elderly monk who is being lured to the table. The flying gray hair of the demon seems to be deliberately associated with the fuzzy gray hat of one of the Mongolian banqueters. The monk may have been intended to represent those who insisted that because they were of high birth or were better educated they should be provided with a better diet.²⁵

The two worlds, one of spiritual struggle and one of physical indulgence, seem dependent and inseparable; I suggest they are treated as the two parts of a larger whole. The spiritual world seems to intrude into the secular one and vice versa. I argue that this visual juxtaposition can be interpreted within the context of the teachings of late Byzantine theologians and intellectuals who stressed the importance of obtaining spiritual perfection within the existing, visible world.²⁶ This is especially apparent in the continuous appeal to monastic communities to care for the sick and the poor. Thus Theodore Metochites, who was the benefactor of the Constantinopolitan Chora monastery in the early fourteenth century, and Makarios Choumnos, who founded the Nea Mone in Thessalonike circa 1360, required resident monks to assist and cater to those in need.²⁷ Between 1321 and 1324 Constantine Akropolites, the donor to the monastery of the Resurrection in Constantinople, reminded its abbot to maintain and care for the charitable institution (*katagoge*) which housed a number of sick people and which was apparently associated with the

²⁴ For possible ethnic identifications of the participants in the feast, see *ibid.*, 91–2.

²⁵ On such monks and nuns see, J.P. Thomas and A. Hero, eds, *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents*, 5 vols (Washington, DC, 2000), 3:1274; Talbot, "Mealtime in monasteries," 117.

²⁶ See, for example, J. Boojamra, *The Church and Social Reform: The Policies of the Patriarch Athanasios of Constantinople* (New York, 1993); D. Constantelos, "Mysticism and social involvement in the later Byzantine church: Theoleptos of Philadelphia—a case study," *Byzantine Studies/Études Byzantines* 6 (1979), 83–94; J. Meyendorff, "Spiritual trends in Byzantium in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries," in P. Underwood, ed., *The Kariye Djami*, 4 vols (Princeton, 1975), 4:97–9.

²⁷ *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents*, 4:1444; I. Ševčenko, "Theodore Metochites, the Chora, and the intellectual trends of his time," in Underwood, ed., *The Kariye Djami*, 4:75.

monastery.²⁸ This balancing of mystical experiences and practical duties is further elucidated in St. Gregory Palamas's homily on the Raising of the Son of the Widow at Nain in which he invites the audience to imitate Christ not only in his mercy but also in his charitable action toward the afflicted woman.²⁹ While these examples provide a backdrop against which the close connection between sacred and secular could be viewed in the Vatopedi, I suggest that there is another, more immediate reason: the monastery maintained a very beneficial relationship with the world outside of its walls the implications of which will be discussed below.

The juxtaposition of the depictions of the heavenly ladder and the secular feast intensifies the meaning of the Vatopedi narthex program. The ascending monk, aspiring to spiritual perfection, can be identified with Christ in his final preparations for his salvific death and Resurrection. The late Byzantine theologian Theoleptos of Philadelpheia, for example, interpreted the monastic renunciation of the world on the spiritual ladder as taking up the cross and walking in the steps of the crucified:

St. John, who raises those who are willing from the earth to the heights by means of his ladder, says, "I have not fasted, I have not kept vigils, I have not slept on the ground, but 'I humbled myself, and the Lord hastens to rescue me'." For neither does the vertical beam of wood maintain the form of the cross without the crossbeam, nor do the virtues preserve the ascetic without humility. Thus exalted above earthly things and above affection for them by the virtues (for this constitutes the upright beam), you stand very much in need of the crossbeam of humility to complete the cross which illumines you and which you have chosen to bear.³⁰

Theoleptos further compared spiritual aspirations and the upward movement of the soul to the mounting of the cross. He defined the symbolic crucifixion of the soul as lifting up from earthly things.³¹ The death of the monk to the world is frequently associated with the death of Christ on the cross, an episode which is omitted from the Passion cycle in the Vatopedi exonarthex.³²

²⁸ G.T. Dennis and T. Miller, "Constantine Akropolites: The obligation of the monks to care for the sick," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 56 (1990), 413–29; on the monastery, see *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents* 4:1374–82.

²⁹ Gregory Palamas, *Homilia XLII* in PG 151:533A.

³⁰ Theoleptos of Philadelpheia, *The Monastic Discourses*, trans. and ed. R. Sinkewicz (Toronto, 1992), 161.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 137, 153, 159. For the association of the ladder of virtues with the cross in the medieval west, see J.F. Hamburger, *Nuns as Artist: The Visual Culture of a Medieval Convent* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London, 1997), 101–16. For Jacob's ladder and the cross, see W. Cahn, "Ascending and descending from heaven: Ladder themes in early medieval art," in A. Anselmi, ed., *Santi e demoni nell'alto Medioevo occidentale (secoli V–XI)*, 7–13 aprile 1988 (Spoleto, 1989), 721–24.

³² Theoleptos of Philadelpheia, *Monastic Discourses*, 159; G.E.H. Palmer et al., trans. and eds, *The Philokalia*, 4 vols (London, 1995), 4:153, 253.

I suggest that here the climbing of the ladder, which symbolically summarizes the separation of the monks from their earthly concerns, is visually equated to Christ's own suffering. An important comparison is provided by a full-page illustration in an eleventh-century Klimakos manuscript at Princeton (University Library, Garrett MS 16) where the cross is visually related to the heavenly ladder.³³ One of the concluding miniatures (fol. 194r) in the book depicts a group of monks hastily approaching the ladder while others are already laboring up it. The author, John, is represented to the left holding an unfurled scroll inscribed with the opening words of his exhortation: "climb, climb, climb eagerly." A golden cross on a stepped base is painted between the figure of John and the ladder, creating the impression that John is encouraging his audience to ascend both the cross and the ladder at the same time. On a much grander scale the visualization of the spiritual ascent in the narthex of the Vatopedi katholikon induces associations with the frescoed Passion cycle.

One of the composition's peculiar features, the secular banquet—through its emphasis on enjoyment in earthly delights, and especially in food and drink—further relates the image of the ladder to the cathartic spirit of Lent. Noteworthy for example is the third figure from the right who is reaching for a turnip, hoping perhaps to not become drunk as he just had his glass refilled with wine.³⁴ Another one of the feasting figures, the one on the far left end of the table, is represented precariously perched at the corner and is about to tumble into the physical space of the narthex, and, like the unfortunate monks, to become a victim of the dragon below. The indulgence of the flesh with food and garrulous entertainment weighs the gourmand down, becoming the reason for his physical and subsequent spiritual fall. We are reminded of the words of St. Gregory of Sinai: "Through it [the stomach] we fall and through it—when it is well disciplined—we rise again."³⁵ Furthermore, the sight lines are manipulated in order to reveal the secular banquet under the arch above which the Last Supper is represented.³⁶ The striking difference between the shapes of the two tables—the rho-shaped one of the gourmands and the sigma-shaped one of the apostles—not only sets the two groups of diners apart, but also allows the monks of the Vatopedi to identify with the participants in the Last Supper; the tables in their monastic refectory are similarly sigma-shaped.³⁷ In the fresco of the Last Supper Judas is identified by his outstretched hand, and it is notable that six out of the eight members of

³³ S. Kotzabassi and N.P. Ševčenko, *Greek Manuscripts at Princeton, Sixth to Nineteenth Century: A Descriptive Catalogue* (Princeton, 2010), 122–3, fig. 167.

³⁴ E. Anagnostakēs and T. Papamastorakēs, "'... kai rapanakia gia tēn orexē.' Peri trapezōn, rafanidōn kai oinon," *Symmeikta* 16 (2003), 302–3.

³⁵ *Philokalia*, 4:280.

³⁶ G. Millet, *Monuments de l'Athos* (Paris, 1927), 90.1.

³⁷ Archimandrite Ephraim, "The monastery in tradition and today," in *The Holy and Great Monastery of Vatopaidi*, 1:31, fig. 14.

the secular feast are represented repeating his gesture, extending their arms in the direction of their plates.

The negative effect of gluttony on the monastic pursuit of virtue is illustrated in a twelfth-century manuscript copy of Klimakos's *Heavenly Ladder* in St. Catherine's monastery on Mount Sinai (cod. 418, fol. 135r). The chapter on gluttony begins with a frontispiece that contains a representation of a monk sitting at a table laid with silverware and food.³⁸ A crowing rooster perched on a column, extracted from the episode of Peter's betrayal, is represented in the margins, announcing the straying away from the spiritual struggle and thus the ultimate betrayal committed by the feasting monk.

In Klimakos's text, gluttony is included among the greatest vices.³⁹ This is hardly surprising since the original sin was committed through the act of eating. The illuminations in two copies of Klimakos's *Ladder*, one from the twelfth (Vatican, cod. Gr. 394, fol. 74r) and one from the fourteenth century (Mt Athos, Stavronikita Monastery, cod. 50, fol. 103v), provide meaningful comparisons to the image in the Vatopedi.⁴⁰ In both manuscripts, the personification of gluttony is represented eating a round fruit, perhaps an apple, and wearing an imperial crown and a richly hemmed garment. Her royal appearance in these two books must have been inspired by the prominent role that Klimakos assigned to her in his discussion of various vices. In fact he utilized royal terminology in order to define her place among the passions.⁴¹ In a way he rendered abundant food as a privilege and a failing of the rich. Gluttony is also a common theme in Byzantine satire, as in the twelfth-century *Timarion*.⁴² The lively poses of the aristocrats participating in the Vatopedi banquet suggest that they are engaged in a conversation. This recalls a passage from the eleventh step of the *Ladder of Divine Ascent*, in which John condemns garrulity as a vice stemming from gluttony: "which is why many who keep a hard check on the stomach can more easily restrain the blathering tongue."⁴³

In his eleventh-century monastic regulations Nikon of the Black Mountain—a Constantinopolitan nobleman who, after advancing in the army of the emperor Constantine IX Monomachos (1042–55), decided to pursue a monastic vocation—insisted that eating and drinking should not be associated

³⁸ K. Weitzmann and G. Galavaris, *The Monastery of St. Catherine at Mount Sinai: the Illuminated Greek Manuscripts* (Princeton, 1990), fig. 609.

³⁹ John Climacus, *Ladder of Divine Ascent*, 165–70.

⁴⁰ Martin, *Illustration*, fig. 105; S. Pelekanides, ed., *Hoi thesauroi tou Hagiau Oros*, 4 vols (Athens, 1973), 4:214, fig. 375.

⁴¹ Cf. John Climacus, *Ladder of Divine Ascent*, 140–45.

⁴² *Timarion*, trans. and ed. B. Baldwin (Detroit, 1984), 19–20, 110 n. 138. See also L. Garland, "The rhetoric of gluttony and hunger in twelfth century Byzantium," in W. Mayer and S. Trzcionka, eds, *Feast, Fast or Famine: Food and Drink in Byzantium* (Brisbane, 2005), 43–56.

⁴³ John Climacus, *Ladder of Divine Ascent*, 159.

with ecclesiastical feasts. As appropriate ways of celebration he recommended the "rebirth of the mind and cleansing of the soul."⁴⁴ Spiritual aspirations are thus firmly opposed to the pleasures of food and wine.

While the visual association between the banquet and the spiritual ladder in Vatopedi appears to be unusual, it is not unique. The dichotomy between the delights of secular feasting and the striving for ascetic virtue is explored in an anonymous epigram, "Choosing the Austere Path of John Klimakos." It is included in an eleventh-century manuscript of the *Heavenly Ladder* (Ambros. gr. A 152 sup., fol. 213r) and was copied unchanged in two other ones which also contain the *Ladder*, dated to the twelfth and thirteenth century respectively.⁴⁵ The epigram juxtaposes the "nonsense of urban jesting," "well-covered chambers," "fancy robes," and "succulent drinks" with "affectionate love and wise devotion," "sweet suffering," subsistence on "transparent water" and "bread, no more than necessary."⁴⁶ All of these elements are palpably visualized and contrasted in the Vatopedi composition. Especially noteworthy is the emphasis in the poem on gluttony inspired perhaps by Klimakos's belief that it is one of the worst passions, or by the audience of the poem, who might have been well-to-do and thus had easier access to abundant dining. The scholars who studied the epigram indicated that the anonymous author employed a number of uncommon words in the expectation that his audience would be made up of rich, well-educated aristocrats.⁴⁷ While I am not suggesting that the epigram provides more than a generalizing parallel to the paintings in the Vatopedi exonarthex, I argue that the association and contrast between secular feasting and ascetic struggles was as important for the eleventh- as it was for the fourteenth-century Athonite audience.

The incorporation within the ladder composition of a demonic tax collector sitting behind a table with a pile of golden coins reveals the lure of material possessions and indicates that the Vatopedi was one of the richest monasteries on Mount Athos. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries Vatopedi was generously endowed by Byzantine, Bulgarian, and Serbian rulers.⁴⁸ Thus by the end of the thirteenth century, thanks to the munificence of the Bulgarian tsar Ivan II Asen (1218–41) and the emperor Andronikos II Palaiologos (1282–

⁴⁴ *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents*, 1:400.

⁴⁵ These are Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, gr. 126, fols. 301v–302v (12th cen.) and Hierosolym. Sab. gr. 175, fols. 190v–191v (13th cen.) See K. Bentein et al., "Book epigrams in honor of the church fathers: Some *inedita* from the eleventh century," *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 49 (2009), 288–92.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 290.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 291.

⁴⁸ On these, see M. Laskaris, *Vatopedskata gramota na tsar Ivan Asenia II* (Sofia, 1930); J. Lefort, "La fortune foncière de Vatopédi hors de l'Athos avant la fin du XIII^e siècle," in P. Gounaridis, ed., *The Monastery of Vatopedi: History and Art* (Athens, 1999), 43–54; L. Maksimović, "Serbikē exousia kai to Hagion Oros kata ta Batopedina Chrysoboulla tou Stefanou Dušan," *ibid.*, 73–9.

1328), Vatopedi's land possessions became considerably larger, propelling it higher within the Athonite hierarchy.⁴⁹ The monastery profited also from trade and trade privileges granted by the Constantinopolitan emperors, and from financial operations that engaged the most prominent aristocrats and ecclesiastics in the area.⁵⁰

Nikolaos Oikonomides has demonstrated that the monastery was an establishment of noblemen.⁵¹ This is confirmed by a recent prosopographic study of Byzantine, Georgian, and Slavic aristocrats on Mount Athos which made clear that in the course of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the inhabitants of Vatopedi consistently originated from the middle- and high-ranking aristocracy.⁵² Thus the association between the secular feast and the spiritual ladder must have carried particular meaning for the monastic audience of the Vatopedi. The rich monastic community, with its considerable number of noble-born monks, was in need of a special visual lesson about the dangers arising from the monks' aristocratic upbringing, their earlier dining habits, and the large material fortune of the monastery. I suggest that the spiritual ladder and the banquet are purposefully associated to become a powerful visual admonition against the lures of the secular world in general, and of plentiful food and drink in particular.

The rest of the monumental program in the exonarthex, with its underlying Lenten message, when eating is severely restricted and the cleansing of the soul through spiritual exercises encouraged, further underscores the moralizing tone of the ladder and the paradoxical nature of the abundant feast.⁵³ When looking at the painting in the Vatopedi, one is reminded of an excerpt from a letter of the early fourteenth-century patriarch of Constantinople Athanasios I (1289–93, 1303–09) to the emperor Andronikos II:

We should not recline and feast in the enclosures of sacred churches as if they were "places for drinking bouts", but should lift up our hands and thoughts to God ...⁵⁴

⁴⁹ Lefort, "La fortune foncière de Vatopédi," 51.

⁵⁰ A. Laiou, "Economic activities of Vatopedi in the fourteenth century," in *The Monastery of Vatopedi: History and Art*, 58–70.

⁵¹ N. Oikonomides, "Byzantine Vatopaidi: A monastery of the high aristocracy," in *The Holy and Great Monastery of Vatopaidi*, 1:44–53.

⁵² C. Pavlikianov, *The Medieval Aristocracy on Mount Athos: The Philological and Documentary Evidence for the Activity of Byzantine, Georgian and Slav Aristocrats and Eminent Churchmen in the Monasteries on Mount Athos from the 10th to the 15th Century* (Sofia, 2001), 89–100, 134–51, 191.

⁵³ For dietary restrictions during Lent, see Talbot, "Mealtime in monasteries," 115–16A. N.J. Louvaris, "Fast and abstinence in Byzantium," in Mayer and Trzcionka, eds, *Feast, Fast or Famine*, 189–98.

⁵⁴ Athanasios, Patriarch of Constantinople, *The Correspondence of Athanasios I Patriarch of Constantinople*, trans. A.-M. Talbot (Washington, DC, 1975), 101, 356–57; see also, Gerstel, "Civic and monastic influences," 234 and n. 61.

One wonders if some of the noble brethren of the Vatopedi community participated at some point in their lives in similar gatherings. Like the painting, the text of the letter juxtaposes spiritual ascent and bodily delights, reflecting a common understanding of the negative effects on the soul of worldly pleasures.

The meaning of the ladder within the architectural and spatial context of the church narthex is suggested in a later, eighteenth-century source, the *Hermeneia* or *Painter's Manual* composed by the Athonite monk Dionysius of Fournā.⁵⁵ Not only was Dionysius an artist, but he must have been familiar with the ladder in the Vatopedi exonarthex: circa 1721 he may have been involved in the decoration of the chapel of St. Demetrios in the Vatopedi, and almost immediately after that he wrote his *Hermeneia*.⁵⁶ Indeed, his description of the heavenly ladder seems to have been influenced by his foreknowledge of the image in the monastery's katholikon. Dionysius suggested that the monastic ladder of the virtues should be represented as if outside of the monastery gates, in a sense equating the actual space where the image appeared to the exterior of the monastic enclosure:

A monastery: outside its gates is a crowd of monks, both young and old, and before them is a great ladder reaching up to heaven. Monks are on it, some climbing, others just beginning to mount; above them winged angels make as if to help them. At the top is Christ in heaven, and before him is the topmost rung of the ladder, from which an old and venerable monk reaches out his hand at him and looks at him ... Below the ladder is a crowd of winged demons, clutching at the tunics of the monks ... Beneath them the all-devouring Hell is shown as a great and fearful dragon, with a monk between his jaws ...⁵⁷

Dionysius placed the beginning of any spiritual aspiration at the physical entrance of the monastery, paralleling the movement of the soul upwards, towards and closer to God, with a movement in space from outside to inside.⁵⁸ Representations of the heavenly ladder in the narthex are thus particularly appropriate, for this is not only the space through which one enters the church, but also the space in which part of the initiation of new monks is performed, marking the beginning of their new life as members of the monastic community.⁵⁹

⁵⁵ Dionysius of Fournā, *Hermēneia tēs zōgraphikēs technēs*, ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus (St. Petersburg, 1909); for the purposes of this chapter I will use the English translation: *The "Painter's Manual" of Dionysius of Fournā*, trans. P. Hetherington (Redondo Beach, CA, 1989).

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 11.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 82.

⁵⁸ He recommended the ladder as one of the images appropriate for the decoration of the narthex. See *ibid.*, 86.

⁵⁹ N. Pal'mov, *Postrizhenie v monashestvo: Chiny postrizhenia v monashestvo v Grecheskoi tserkvi* (Kiev, 1914), 254–5, 257–8, 260; M. Wawryk, *Initiatio monastica in liturgia byzantina* (Rome, 1968), Appendix, 3, 6.

The representation of the Vatopedi ladder is in a sense a paradox, a depiction of an otherwise invisible pathway to God. The tangible frescoed ladder can be perceived as a result of the ascetic exercises and prayers performed by the monks in the narthex—they could literally see things after considerable mental exertion. Manuel Philes, for example, placed the image of the ladder at the end of the monks' spiritual trials that he described in a lengthy poem dedicated to Klimakos's work—only after they have shed their vices and obtained virtues could they see the ladder.⁶⁰ The last four verses, "On the Ascent of the Holy Ladder," read:

Look at the ladder, o man, and go up
Lift yourself from the ground and do not turn and look with your eyes
Because Christ, the judge of the rungs
Calls you through the ladder and offers the crown.⁶¹

Here, the ladder is the means of communication between the earthly and heavenly realms. Similarly the previously mentioned eleventh-century Princeton Klimakos (Garrett, MS 16) has two ladders, one at the beginning (fol. 4r) and one at the end (fol. 194r).⁶² The final miniature complements the representation of the ladder at the start of the book, where it illustrates the table of contents. John Martin has suggested that the messages of the two images are quite different.⁶³ While in the first image the ascent has not yet begun, and the monks gather around St. John, in the second representation the group, after having heard (or read) his teachings, has dissolved. Some of the monks are represented rushing toward the ladder and others have started the ascent. As in Manuel Philes's poem and the concluding image of the ladder in the Princeton Klimakos, the representation of the heavenly ladder in the Vatopedi did not simply epitomize the text of a popular manual for monastic behavior; it also provided a glimpse into and a means of reaching a different, heavenly realm.

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⁶⁰ Manuel Philes, *Carmina*, ed. E. Miller, 2 vols (Paris, 1857), 1:380–88.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 388.

⁶² Kotzabassi and Ševčenko, *Greek Manuscripts*, figs. 129, 167.

⁶³ Martin, *Illustrations*, 45.

Death and Life: The Persistence of Sacred Imagery from the *Croce Dipinta* of Alberto Sotio

Ann Driscoll

A sacred work of art, commissioned for a particular church at a specific time, may reflect in its iconography the current theological doctrine or recent significant events in church history.¹ With changes in doctrine or the occurrence of new events, the once-timely image may lose its relevance as well as its placement in the church. And yet, even as the power of a sacred image can die, it may also have an afterlife, arising again in the form of elements and influences present in later works that affirm its continuing significance, even in a later era when its iconography is no longer current or understood.

My chapter explores the afterlife of one sacred work, the Cross of Alberto Sotio (G456), from Spoleto in Umbria (Figure 12.1 = Plate 15).² This is a monumental *croce dipinta*, a painted cross made of wood, that displays the figure of Christ (over 2 meters or 6 feet tall), crucified yet alive.³ This particular iconography, known as the *Christus Triumphans* or Christ Alive, appeared on the painted crosses until after the beginning of the thirteenth century, when

¹ Annemarie Weyl Carr is an inspirational and encouraging teacher, a faithful and reliable friend, and an extraordinary person who combines clear and creative thinking with warmth and caring. I am grateful for her presence in my life.

² The notation G before a number refers to Edward B. Garrison's *Index* number from his *Italian Romanesque Panel Painting: An Illustrated Index* (Florence: Olschki, 1949; reprint, New York: Hacker Art Books, 1976), issued on CD-ROM by the Garrison Collection, Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London, 1998.

³ The most recent sources for the Cross of Alberto are Alice Ann Driscoll, *Alberto Sotio, 1187, and Spoleto: The Umbrian Painted Cross in Italian Medieval Art* (PhD dissertation, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2005); and Driscoll, "The *croce dipinta* of Alberto Sotio in Spoleto," *Spoletium: Rivista di Arte Storia Cultura*, 47/3 (2010): 18–39. Important essays on the Cross of Alberto are Giordana Benazzi, "La Croce di Alberto nel Duomo di Spoleto," in *Quando Spoleto era romanica: antologia per un museo del Ducato*, exhibition at La Rocca Albornoziana, Spoleto, 1984 (exhibition catalogue), 61–71; and Paolo Virilli et al., "Prime annotazioni sul restauro della Croce di Alberto," *ibid.*, 71–81.



Fig. 12.1 Cross of Alberto Sotio (G456), 1187. Tempera on panel with intermediary layer of parchment, c. 9' × 6'8" (2.78 × 2 m). Church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo, Spoleto; now in the cathedral of S.M. Assunta in Spoleto.

different imagery, the *Christus Patiens*, Christ Dead (or suffering), began to displace the no longer fashionable image of Christ Alive.⁴

⁴ I capitalize the words "alive" and "dead" when they are part of these titles.

The *croce dipinta* came into being in the mid-eleventh century, and the crosses became widespread throughout Italy.⁵ Churches both large and small commissioned the painted crosses. They could be monumental in size with a background of gold leaf and adorned with jewels, or small and quite simple. They were displayed in a stand near or attached to the altar, or stood on a *tramezzo* or rood screen that divided the chancel of the church from the large central space of the nave.⁶

The afterlife of the Cross of Alberto becomes present on a number of later painted crosses when specific visual details or concepts from Alberto's Cross appear, on purpose, on these later objects. The details borrowed or "quoted" in the later works were features such as the distinctive border pattern on Alberto's Cross, its inscription, or the particular manner of painting the facial features, and especially the imagery of the transparent loincloth. Through these visual references to Alberto's Cross, the subsequent images pay homage to it by affirming its statement.

To demonstrate the strength of the afterlife of the Cross of Alberto—how its significance endured after its *Triumphans* iconography was no longer current—I first briefly introduce the imagery on the three earliest extant examples of the *Christus Triumphans* wooden painted crosses. Next I examine the particular interpretation of the *Christ Alive* on the Cross of Alberto, as well as the artist's specific treatment of details. I then present five of the later painted crosses that include imagery from Alberto's Cross, even though the new iconography of the *Christus Patiens* was more up to date.

Early Examples of *Christus Triumphans* Painted Crosses

Only three early examples of the *Christus Triumphans* painted cross remain. They come from Fondi, of the first half of the twelfth century (G451); Rosano, circa 1128 (G525); and Sarzana of 1138 (G498).⁷ A brief review of their iconography will establish the patterns already in use when Alberto painted his cross.

⁵ For the origin of the painted crosses, see Cecilia Frosinini, "La riforma gregoriana e la nascita della croce dipinta," in *Pinxit Guilielmus: il restauro della Croce di Sarzana*, eds Marco Ciatti, Cecilia Frosinini, and Roberto Bellucci (Florence: Edifir, 2001), 27–30. Evelyn Sandberg-Valalà, *La croce dipinta italiana e l'iconografia della Passione* (Verona: Apollo, 1929; reprint, Rome: Multigrafica, 1985), 59–79, also presents a great deal of useful information.

⁶ In the basilica San Francesco at Assisi, three scenes—the *Cross of San Damiano Speaks to St. Francis*, the *Miracle of the Crib at Greccio*, and the *Verification of the Stigmata*—show painted crosses installed in a variety of placements. For illustrations, see Luciano Bellosi, *Giotto at Assisi* (Assisi: Franciscana, 1989), figs. 30, 52, and 60.

⁷ Approximately 150 monumental Italian painted crosses survive from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; of these, 19 are from the twelfth century. This is my calculation from Garrison's *Index*; possibly more will come to light. They were such compelling objects that, particularly in Umbria and Tuscany, an abundance of churches displayed one in a permanent installation.



Fig. 12.2 Cross from Fondi (G451), first half of twelfth century. Tempera on panel, 6'8" × 4'8" (2.05 × 1.42 m). Fondi, San Pietro Apostolo.

The first hangs in the apse of the cathedral of San Pietro Apostolo, Fondi, in Lazio in southern Italy (Figure 12.2). It suffered severe damage when it and its church were bombed in 1944 during World War II. The surviving pieces, mounted together, reflect its original simple shape; today only the figure of Christ and the faces of Mary and John endure. The essentials of the Crucifixion image are present but unadorned. On the vertical shaft, the image of Christ is upright, with eyes open and a small tilt of his head to his proper right; there are no signs of suffering. The *cimasa*, the part of the vertical shaft extending above his head, forms a rectangle topped by two smaller circles; its surface decoration is lost. Christ's arms, stretched on the horizontal crossbar, extend toward large circular shapes at either end. These display, on his proper right, the face of the Virgin, and on his proper left, the face of John. New wood fills the damaged area of Christ's torso; his loincloth is simple and dark in color. What is unusual here, and not repeated in later crosses, is the placement of the large circular shapes both atop the *cimasa* and at the ends of the crossbar.⁸

⁸ For history of the Fondi Cross, consult E.B. Garrison, "Post-war discoveries: Early Italian paintings—V", *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 90, 1948: 376–84.

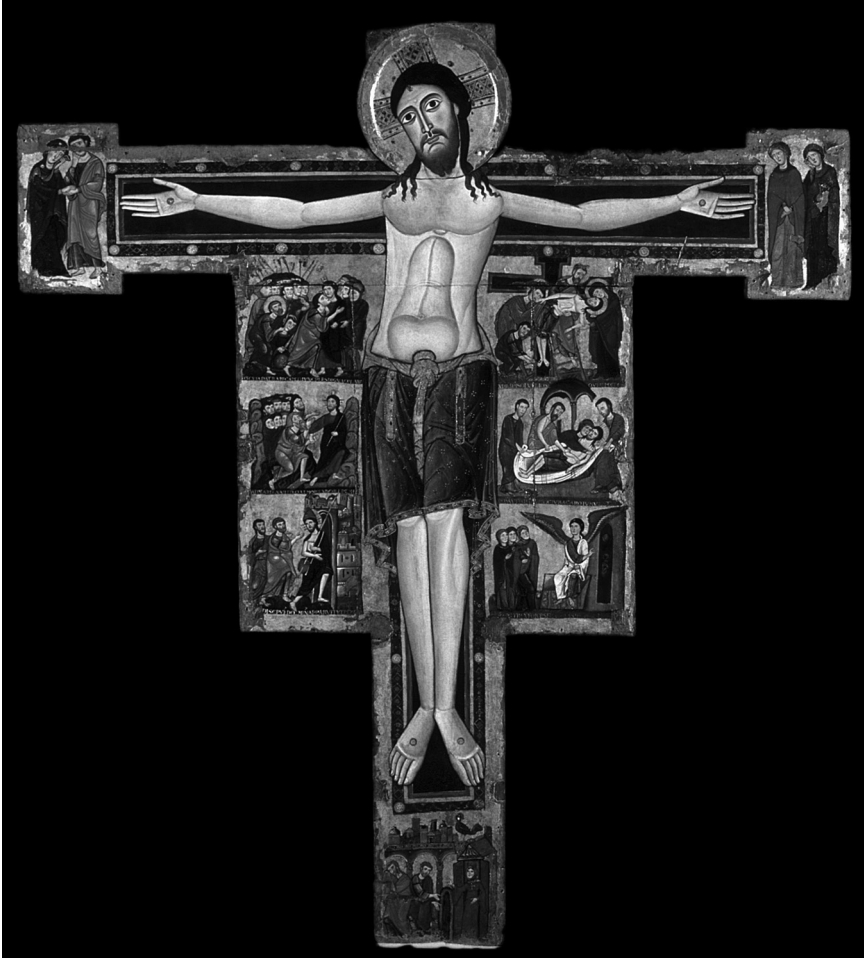


Fig. 12.3 Cross from Rosano (G525) near Florence, c. 1128. Tempera on panel, c. 8'4" × 7'7" (2.53 × 2.30 m). Rosano, Sma. Annunziata.

The second early *croce dipinta* was made, circa 1128, for the sisters of the Benedictine Abbey of Santa Maria Assunta in Rosano in Tuscany (Figure 12.3). After a meticulous conservation, it has returned to its original location in their church.⁹ The message of the Crucifixion is articulated here with far more fullness than on the Fondi Cross. The figure of Christ is erect, with pear-shaped abdomen divided into three segments. He wears an ultramarine

⁹ For documentation of the conservation, with illustrations, see Marco Ciatti, Cecilia Frosinini, and Roberto Bellucci, eds., *La Croce Dipinta dell'Abbazia di Rosano: Visibile e invisibile, studio e restauro per la comprensione* (Florence: Edifir, 2007). The *cimasa* of the Cross remains lost.

perizoma (loincloth), its gold sash tied in a large decorative knot at the center, with three ties extending downward. Christ's eyes are open; his forehead has signs of expression with lines and shadows; his cheeks are modeled with shades of red. There is no side wound.¹⁰ As on the Fondi Cross, Christ's head tilts to his proper right toward the figures of Mary and John, who are together in a small vertical rectangle on the terminal of the crossbar. In a similar rectangle on his proper left, the two Marys stand in mourning.

The Rosano Cross (Figure 12.3) displays several important new features. The first is the presence of a wide *tabellone* (*sagoma*, side fields, or apron) extending downward from below the crossbar to mid-calf of Christ's legs. The second is the use of narrative scenes on the *tabellone*: the Betrayal, the Deposition from the Cross, Christ's Descent into Limbo, the Entombment, Christ on the Road to Emmaus, and the Three Women at the Tomb.¹¹ The Denial of Peter is on the base, below Christ's feet. Both of these elements, the *tabellone* and the narrative scenes, are new and notable and would be included on a great number of later painted crosses. A third element, however, is not visible. The conservators discovered a small cross made of stone and placed in a cavity behind the *nimbus* (halo) of Christ before the completion of the Cross.¹² The presence of this relic, probably brought from the Holy Land by Guido Guerra, added to the Cross's significance to the Abbazia. This new idea may have inspired the placement of relics in other crosses.

The third early painted cross, bearing the inscription "1138 Pinxit Guilielmus," is in the Duomo of Sarzana in Liguria (Figure 12.4).¹³ The decoration and the form of the cross itself make a quantum leap in the amount and complexity of imagery visible on a *croce dipinta*. An ornate border surrounds the whole cross-shaped panel, not just the interior cross holding the body of Christ. The summit of the *cimasa* rounds upward in a half-circle above its rectangular panel. The terminals of the crossbar are vertical rectangles ending in half-circles; above and below Christ's outstretched hands are the symbols of the four evangelists and busts of Jeremiah and Isaiah. The Sarzana Cross is also the earliest known example whose *tabellone* forms the shape of a chalice, the vessel that holds the blood of Christ in the celebration of the Holy Eucharist. Below the curve, the horizontal base of the chalice forms the *suppedaneum*, the support holding the feet of Christ.

¹⁰ John 19:34 gives the only account of the piercing of Christ's side; this proved that he was already dead, and therefore his legs were not broken.

¹¹ Each of the six narratives on the *tabellone* has beneath it an identifying inscription or *titulus*.

¹² The form and decorative pattern of concentric circles suggest that it came from the Holy Land. Guido Guerra's family is associated with the commissioning of the Rosano Cross; see Maria Rosaria Marchionibus, "La croce-reliquia trovata all'interno della Croce di Rosano," in Ciatti et al., *La Croce Dipinta dell'Abbazia di Rosano*, 89–98.

¹³ For its conservation, the discoveries made, and photographic documentation, see Ciatti et al., *Pinxit Guilielmus*.

The Sarzana Cross is replete with specific scenes, figures, and inscriptions that illustrate and proclaim its message. On the *cimasa* is the Ascension, with the topmost circle holding Christ enthroned in a *mandorla* (almond-shaped oval), and below, in the horizontal bar, the figures of Mary, apostles, and angels. The *titulus* ("Jesus Christ King of the Jews") is on the upright. Below is the date of 1138, followed by the artist's proclamation: *Pinxit Guillielmus*. On the *tabellone*, the large figures of Mary and John mourning, with the two other Maries, flank the body of Christ. Beneath them are smaller narrative scenes of the Passion: the Betrayal, Flagellation, Way to Calvary, Deposition, and, below the curve of the chalice, the Entombment and the Maries at the Tomb.

The Cross from Sarzana has several unusual features that call attention to the physical form of Christ. When painting the body of Christ, Guillielmus did not emphasize muscles of the abdomen or arms. The chest, with nipples, is defined with faint lines. He represented the pubic hair with strokes that are light but clear, visible above the gold sash of the *perizoma*. A large decorative knot fastens the sash and extends upward; the ties hang between the legs. The original centers of the wounds from the four nails were gold, surrounded by red in a decorative pattern; the side wound is a red crescent.¹⁴

Salient features from the Sarzana Cross that appear on later crosses are the number and variety in size, shape, and content of the narrative scenes and other figures, the representation of body hair, and the inclusion of the artist's name and date. The new "chalice" configuration of the *tabellone* would be incorporated into a number of crosses made in Lucca and its territory.

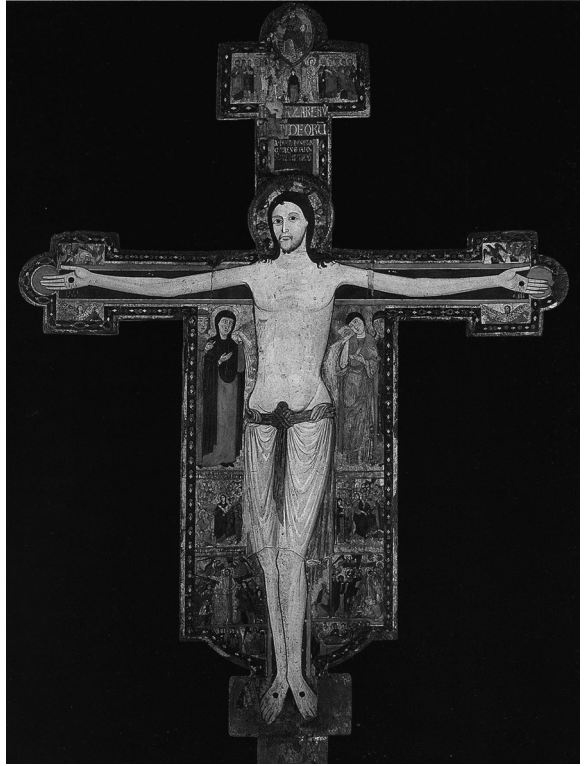


Figure 12.4 Cross from Sarzana (G498), Liguria, signed by Guillielmus and dated 1138. Tempera on panel, c. 9'3" × 10'10" (3 × 2.1 m). Sarzana, cathedral, Chapel of the Crocifisso.

¹⁴ The drops of blood come from a later repainting.

The Cross of Alberto Sotio: Abstraction and Naturalism

The three painted crosses from Fondi, Rosano, and Sarzana show the movement from simplicity toward complexity in the growing amount of ornament and number of scenes displayed. Contrasting with this, the Cross of Alberto Sotio from Spoleto emphasizes simplicity both in its form and in the iconography for which the form was shaped (Figure 12.1 _ Plate 15).¹⁵ Commissioned for the small parish church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo in Spoleto, and painted in 1187, it remained in the church until 1877, when it was transferred to the cathedral. In the now-truncated *cimasa*, Christ ascends to the Heavenly Jerusalem in the company of angels.¹⁶ Below this is the *titulus*, then the *nimbus* that surrounds his head. The crossbar holds his shoulders and outstretched arms. On the *tabellone*, the standing images of Mary and John flank the body of Christ. Two nails fasten his feet to the *suppedaneum*, and blood drips from the wounds made by the nails into the mouth of the skull of Adam, resting on a hillock of Golgotha. Below is the inscription “AD MCLXXXVIII,” and beneath it, “Opus Alberto So (t?...).” The damaged inscription does not specify whether Alberto is the artist or the patron; at this point he is considered the artist.¹⁷

On both the Rosano and the Sarzana crosses, the *nimbus* surrounding the face of Christ is flat with a raised rim. On the Spoleto cross, this form begins to curve upward—from near his hair to the edges of the *alveoli*, the round concave shapes in the *nimbus*—to form a rounded raised border.¹⁸ The shape of this *nimbus*, similar to that of a plate with a high rounded rim, reflects that of the *paten*, the liturgical vessel that holds the bread of the Eucharist.¹⁹ This degree of sculpting of the *nimbus* is not matched on other twelfth and thirteenth-century painted crosses. During the conservation of the *Croce Azzurra* in Spoleto, a rectangular cavity was discovered that had been carved into the back of the *nimbus*; inside was a tiny wooden box with

¹⁵ The dark brown background of Alberto's Cross is silver leaf with saffron varnish, *argento con mecca*. Over time, the varnish did not protect the silver from oxidation; this caused it to turn dark brown. Now the two different types of reflective qualities, one from the true gold leaf on the halo and the other from the silver leaf covered with saffron varnish, are no longer apparent.

¹⁶ This damage to the *cimasa* is puzzling. It would not have shortened the height of the Cross substantially. The cut was made with care in order not to damage the face of the Ascending Christ. The Cross remained in SS. Giovanni e Paolo until it was moved to the Cathedral of Santa Maria Assunta in 1876–77. The damage might have occurred between 1825 and 1830, in order to store the Cross in a smaller part of the church, perhaps the crypt. For relevant documents, see Driscoll, “Alberto Sotio,” 441–7.

¹⁷ For the varying readings of and opinions about the inscription, see Driscoll, “Alberto Sotio,” 230–34. The few early documents that mention the Cross do not clarify this issue, and it remains a subject of debate.

¹⁸ The *alveoli* are decorative; because they are concave they reflect light differently from the surface of the *nimbus*, and are the brightest points on it, as well as on the Cross.

¹⁹ For this observation, see Virilli, “Prime annotazioni,” 73.

relics intact.²⁰ The conservation process for the Cross of Alberto revealed a similar cavity, but the cavity was empty. Both were in positions similar to that of the reliquary cavity on the Rosano Cross.

The two decorative borders on Alberto's Cross are less complex than those on the Sarzana Cross. The first, a bright red border on the interior blue cross to which Christ is nailed, is visible as it rises above the *nimbus*, and appears again behind his lower legs and below the *suppedaneum*. It traverses the width of the cross arm, giving a beveled effect to the top and to the edge of one side (the other is damaged). A thin white line separates it from the blue of the center of the crossbar. The second border, more ornamental, bears a pattern of small red crosses within stepped lozenges. It outlines the scene of the Ascension on the *cimasa*, and continues downward on the vertical shaft alongside the red border; it also appears on the end of one terminal and stretches across the horizontal bar.²¹

A marked difference exists between the presentation of the face and body of Christ on the previous three crosses and on the Cross of Alberto. The painter Alberto developed a style that fuses naturalism with abstraction.²² This emphasizes the hypostatic union in Christ, his dual nature, with the simultaneous presence of both humanity and divinity in his being.²³

Naturalism emphasizes the humanity: the body of Christ is modeled with light and shade to show its roundness and define its muscles. Similar modeling defines the curves in his brow, the warmth in his cheeks, and the shaping of his nose. His chest, however, lacks nipples. The wounds bleed with red blood (but in separate non-naturalistic drops). The presence of Christ's axillary, underarm, hair is the most surprising touch of naturalism. The strong sway of his abdominal muscles indicates that he has been hanging on the cross for a number of hours. His broken body tells of his death as a man, yet his alert open eyes emphasize his divine triumph over death.

The manner of painting of the transparent loincloth is a virtuoso display of naturalism—or beyond naturalism, for here Alberto created an extraordinary illusion, one that evokes the manner in which the folds in the loincloth displace

²⁰ The *Croce Azzurra* was made for the church of San Giuliano on Monteluco, just outside of Spoleto. For a diagram of the nimbus and a careful analysis and history of the *Croce Azzurra*, see Enrico De Simone, "La Croce Azzurra della Pinacoteca Civica di Spoleto: studio storico tecnico dei crocefissi spoletini del XII secolo," Tesi di Laurea in Storia delle Tecniche Artistiche, Università degli Studi della Tuscia, Viterbo, 1998–99.

²¹ In the parish church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo in Spoleto, a fresco of St. Nicholas, often considered a work by Alberto, has this same border.

²² I use "naturalism" to mean "close adherence to and faithful representation of nature or reality," and "abstraction" to designate "separated from matter ... free from representational qualities." *New Shorter Oxford English Dictionary*, ed. Lesley Brown (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), s.v. "naturalism," "abstract."

²³ For the hypostatic union, see Alexander P. Kazhdan, ed., *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), s.v. "Hypostasis" by Karl-Heinz Uthemann, and "Chalcedon, Council of" by Aristeides Papadakis.

the pattern of stripes. So precise was he, in planning the placement of the lowered folds with the pattern displaced within, that he incised the outlines of the folds into the gesso of the panel before beginning to paint. To emphasize the transparency of the fabric, both the circular kneecaps and the color of the flesh show through it. The loincloth's sash conceals the shadow of the phallus beneath the fabric. The purpose of the phallus, although concealed, is to emphasize that Jesus, the human, is complete in all the parts of a man.

Abstraction, in both colors and shapes, describes the divinity of Christ. The darkest shadows are a non-naturalistic red, and the body's outlines are red as well as black. On his side one sees the black outline, then the red outline within this, and next the red and black with the deep ochre that lightens as it reaches the front of the body. This use of red as outline and shading also refers to the Incarnation, the "body made flesh." This reinforces the concept of the dual nature of Christ, fully human and fully divine. The abstracting of the body into geometric rather than natural shapes signals to the worshiper the presence of divinity, the movement from the realm of the human to the realm of the divine. Christ's facial features become a series of triangles, circles, and curves. Muscles, particularly those of the arms and the abdomen, are reduced to geometric shapes (long ovals and teardrops), and articulated with curves. The chest, with nipples omitted, becomes two large congruent circles. A pear-shaped mound of ovals, divided into six sections, describes the abdomen. The straight joins of fingers to hand and of toes to feet are similar to the joints on a wooden statue with movable parts.

Christ ascends to heaven in a *mandorla*: this is an important geometric shape, a *vesica piscis*.²⁴ For Christ to enter the realm of heaven within this almond form is no accident. This is the shape of the vulva, through which he entered the world as a human infant. Christ's side wound is also a *vesica piscis*, and through this wound flowed the blood and water from which the Church was born. This use of geometry helps to define the divinity of the body of Christ. By contrast, the features in the painted faces of the humans, the Mother of God and John, are softer with a lesser degree of abstraction.

A fresco in Santa Maria Infraportas, in Foligno near Spoleto, provides an opportunity to see how Alberto treats the face of another human. In a wall painting of *The Entry of the Good Thief into Paradise*, Alberto paints a face that is not divine, but that of a thief.²⁵ Yet this face of Dismas, the Good Thief, recalls that of Alberto's Christ. Much in the two faces is similar: the hair, the outlines

²⁴ The phrase means "fish's bladder" and hints at the vulva, for which "fish" was a euphemism. According to Nigel Hiscock, *The Symbol at Your Door: Number and Geometry in Religious Architecture of the Greek and Latin Middle Ages* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), Euclid, in his *Elements*, gives the most precise description of the *vesica piscis*: it is formed by the intersection of two circles so that the periphery of each touches the center of the other.

²⁵ For photographs, see Driscoll, "Alberto Sotio," figs. 10.6, 10.7, and *Brera mai vista: "Alberto Sotio" a Spoleto sul finire del secolo XII*, exhibition at la Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan, 2005 (exhibition catalogue), figs. 9, 12.

of the eyes, the mustache and parts of the beard, and the bend in the nose. Geometry defines the difference. On Alberto's Christ, the strong arch of the eyebrows, echoed by the lines in the forehead, the directness of the gaze of the irises and pupils, and the precise V-folds beneath the eyes, reflect the clarity and perfection of divinity. The triangle of mustache meets the arc of lips and the half-circle of chin. The beard is organized into a series of curving locks, and the hair falls in a number of almost identical spirals. The hair of Dismas is more casual, and the curves in his face and under his eyes are softer. The formula of his nose and mustache are similar to that of Christ, but the lines are not so meticulous. On Alberto's Christ, the line from ear to Adam's apple curves like a stethoscope. The line under the neck of Dismas is less geometric, as are his chest and hand. Alberto delineates the two faces using his particular conventions, but the features of Dismas, the human, are gentle and more naturalistic, while those of Christ, the divine, are geometric.²⁶

A second comparison involves an unusual painted cross made in Spoleto about the same time as Alberto's and known as the *Croce Azzurra* (G495) because of its delicate use of blues.²⁷ This artist uses not Alberto's language of geometry to evoke the divinity of Christ, but the language of color, with his flesh modeled with delicate shades of blue, the color of the heavens, to express his divine aspect. The loincloth is also *azzurro* in color. On the *Croce Azzurra*, the soft naturalism of Christ's body emphasizes his humanity; the artist includes axillary hair. This makes it clear that another artist, in Spoleto at the same time as Alberto, was also seeking a different way to evoke the divine.

Death to the *Triumphans*, Life for the *Patiens*

When these two crosses, the Cross of Alberto and the *Croce Azzurra*, were being painted in Spoleto, Giovanni Francesco di Bernardone (born circa 1182) was a young boy in nearby Assisi. He would become known as St. Francis of Assisi. Pivotal in his life was an encounter with a *Christus Triumphans* Cross (G459) in the tumbledown church of San Damiano. This Cross told him three times: "Francis, go and repair my house which, as you see, is falling completely into ruin."²⁸ At first Francis began to carry out the command to

²⁶ Christina Pantanella, in "VII: Foligno: Chiesa di Santa Maria *Infraportas*, Cappella dell'Assunta," *Corpus della pittura monumentale bizantina in Italia, I: Umbria*, ed. Mara Bonfioli (Roma: Edizioni Quasar, 2012), 134–9, presents photographs as well as analysis of the colors and other paintings in the church.

²⁷ For photographs and the significance of the imagery, see De Simone, "La *Croce Azzurra*."

²⁸ This translation is from *Bonaventure: The Soul's Journey into God; The Tree of Life; The Life of St. Francis*. Translation and introduction by Ewert Cousins (New York: Paulist Press, 1978), 191–2.

repair the damaged church in the material sense. Later he realized that the Cross had challenged him to build his spiritual work. The results of this are well known. He founded the Order of Friars Minor in 1209, with the approval of Pope Innocent III. In 1224 he received the stigmata and became known as *alter Christi* (another Christ). He died in 1226, was canonized in 1228 by Pope Gregory IX, and the following day the Pope laid the first stone on the basilica to be constructed in Assisi in honor of St. Francis.²⁹

For this basilica the Order commissioned a monumental *croce dipinta* from Giunta Pisano. Instead of the image of Christ Alive seen on the San Damiano Cross that spoke to St. Francis, this new Cross portrayed the Christ who suffered and died, the *Christus Patiens*. Although this Cross is now lost, Giunta Pisano's smaller *Christus Patiens* Cross (G543), painted some years later (1235–40), replicated it.³⁰ On the painted crosses, the figure of the Suffering Christ—Christ Dead—new to the monumental wooden painted crosses, soon replaced that of the Triumphant Christ, Christ Alive.³¹

Why and when the changes in the image of the Crucified Christ on the *croce dipinta* took place is still in question. The existence of Pisa 20 (G521), a *Christus Patiens*, probably made between 1200 and 1210 and now in the Museo Nazionale di San Matteo, Pisa, adds richness to the story.³²

Another factor is a possible change in doctrine having to do with theological controversies at this time. In the history of Christian theology, there have been varying understandings of what was occurring at the Crucifixion of Jesus. Those from Anselm of Canterbury (1033–1109) and Peter Abelard (1079–1182) may be important for the representation of the Crucified Christ on the Cross.³³ Anselm, in *Cur Deus Homo* (Why the God Man?), argues that humankind owes God a moral debt that can only be paid through death but that God steps in and pays the debt Himself in Jesus; this is the “substitutionary atonement” theory. Abelard sees it differently. He holds that the Crucifixion is a supreme demonstration of God's love that kindles a corresponding love in those who see and contemplate it, and that love then causes the viewer/

²⁹ For this history, consult *The Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York: Robert Appleton, 1909), s.v. “St. Francis of Assisi,” by Paschal Robinson.

³⁰ For a photograph of this Cross, see Elvio Lunghi, *Il crocifisso di Giunta Pisano e l'icona del “Maestro di San Francesco” alla Porziuncola* (S. Maria degli Angeli: Edizioni Porziuncola, 1995), 47–50, pl. I.

³¹ The story of the change is made more complex by the existence, before this time, of images of Christ Dead. On the influence of the art of Byzantium on the crosses, see Mariagiulia Burrelli and Antonino Caleca, *Le croci dipinte* (Pisa: Tacchi, 1993), 5, 20. Images of both types existed in a number of forms, including manuscript illuminations and on metal objects; Lunghi, *Il crocifisso*, 51–6.

³² For photographs and catalogue entry, consult *Cimabue a Pisa: la pittura pisana del Duecento da Giunta a Giotto*, Museo Nazionale di San Matteo, Pisa, 2005 (exhibition catalogue), 109–13.

³³ For a review of the theories, see *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, s.v. “Doctrine of the Atonement,” by William Kent.

worshiper to live a more moral life; this is known as the “moral influence” theory. How would these theories play out in sacred representations? The “moral influence” theory might result in a more idealized presentation, while the “substitutional” view would perhaps inspire a more explicit depiction of the death of Jesus. A change in the theory supported might result in a different visual interpretation of the Crucifixion.

The Persistence of Sacred Imagery

Even as the image of Christ Alive was being displaced, five key examples of painted crosses, made from the 1230s to the 1260s, emphasize the afterlife, the continuing impact, of the Cross of Alberto. These are the Porziano Cross (G460), the Cross from Castiglion Fiorentino (G513), the Cross of Petrus (G530), the Cross of Margarito in the Pieve of Arezzo (G458), and the Pisan Cross in the Cleveland Museum of Art (CMA 95.5).³⁴ The impulse to emulate the Cross of Alberto could have been inspired by either the patron of a *croce dipinta* who preferred the “moral influence” view of the Crucifixion, or from the artist’s familiarity with it, or a combination of the two. The *Patiens* iconography was new, dramatic, and could be shocking, but the number of emulations, on *Patiens* crosses, of the Cross of Alberto stresses that both Alberto’s Cross and the *Christus Triumphans* imagery still had visual power.

The Porziano Cross

The Cross from Porziano, made circa 1230–40, is my first example of a painted cross that includes details from the Cross of Alberto during the time the *Christus Patiens* iconography was growing in favor (Figure 12.5). Originally from the Chiesa del Castello in Porziano, north of Assisi, it is now installed in the vault of the Lower Church of San Francesco in Assisi. The Cross has suffered damage and paint loss but is still readable. On it, Christ’s body sways, signaling the painter’s familiarity with the new *Christus Patiens* iconography. Despite his awareness of this, parts of the *Triumphans* iconography remain: Christ’s eyes are open, and two nails, not one, secure his feet to the *suppedaneum* on the Cross.³⁵

The Porziano artist’s painting style is more naturalistic than that of Alberto, but he reveals his indebtedness to Alberto’s Cross in a number of ways, such as the

³⁴ Of this group, only the Porziano Cross and the Cross of Petrus have been mentioned as having a relationship of style to the Cross of Alberto. See Garrison, *Index*, #460 and #530.

³⁵ In order for one nail to fasten both feet to the *suppedaneum* or to the lower part of the upright, one foot needs to be placed on top of the other, requiring at least one knee to bend; this causes a dramatic sway in the body.



Fig. 12.5 Cross from Porziano (G460), Chiesa del Castello, near Assisi, first half of the thirteenth century. Tempera on panel with intermediary layer of parchment, c. 7'6" × 4'9" (2.31 × 1.455 m). Assisi, Basilica di San Francesco.

appearance of Christ's face and the anatomy of Christ's body. The facial features are strikingly similar to those of Alberto's Christ, but softer and less calligraphic. The styling of the hair, falling in six locks on the shoulders, lacks Alberto's precision. He imitates the use of ovals to represent arm muscles, as well as the pear-shaped abdominal muscles, but with less grace. He does not attempt to present a transparent loincloth, and he places more figures on the *tabellone*. He replicates a number of other features: the presence of axillary hair, the absence of nipples, the tilt of the head, the large rounded eyes and eyebrows, the eyebrows continuing to the nose, the wrinkles on the forehead, the roses on the cheeks, the triangle of mustache and mouth, the curve of the chin, and the short beard. The vertical side wound is present. Overall, the Porziano painter softens Alberto's geometry with more naturalistic curves,

as in the pectorals, and simplifies some of the shapes, in particular that of the abdomen—although it is divided into six sections. A major difference, though, is in the presentation of four, not two, figures on the *tabellone*.³⁶

Other borrowings from Alberto's Cross of 1187 are immediately apparent. On the *cimasa* Christ ascends in a *mandorla* with the proportions of the *vesica piscis*, held by two horizontal angels. His figure is enthroned, though, instead of standing. His feet on the *suppedaneum* are in the same position, with the

³⁶ Mary Magdalene and Mary of James now appear here with Mary and John.

proper left heel in front, although the footrest extends across the entire width of the upright and is not foreshortened. A single border, bright red with a shell pattern, extends around the *cimasa*, crossbar, and the lower shaft of the Cross. The same bright blues and reds are apparent. The lower shaft is damaged, but the flow of blood from the foot wounds and the shape of the paint loss suggest that the image of the Mound of Golgotha appeared here. These similarities between the two crosses result from the conscious desire for the Porziano Cross to emulate the Cross of Alberto.

The Castiglion Fiorentino Cross

The Cross from Castiglion Fiorentino, near Arezzo in Tuscany, is from the Pieve di San Giuliano and dates from the first or second quarter of the thirteenth century.³⁷ Components of its *Christus Triumphans* imagery are the open eyes, expressive wrinkled forehead, ruddy cheeks, and absence of the side wound. It has many more decorative elements than does Alberto's Cross. Much of the Cross is missing: part of the *cimasa*, the figures at the ends of the crossbar, and the side panels with narrative scenes. Echoes of the Spoleto Cross remain in the upright slender body, the tilt of the head, the geometry of the facial features and locks of hair, the joints of fingers and thumb, the circles of the chest, the abdomen—although it is curvy and has only five segments—and the curves of the calves. The low-slung waist of the *perizoma*, as well as its zigzag hem, reveal careful study of the details of the Cross of Alberto. One segment of its border is a more decorative version of Alberto's pattern of lozenges but without the stepped crosses. The significant role of the Cross of Alberto in the creation of the Castiglion Fiorentino Cross shows that Alberto's influence extended beyond Umbria to Tuscany.

The Cross of Petrus

Made for the church of Sant'Antonio in Campi Basso in Umbria, the Cross of Petrus is now in the Museo Civico e Diocesano della Castellina in Norcia (Figure 12.6). Although the time frame for my comparative examples is that of the ascendancy of the *Christus Patiens*, this Cross is my only example that shows the Christ Suffering or Dead.³⁸ The date and the name of the artist—

³⁷ For a recent study and image, see *Verso Cimabue: Crocifissi e croci dipinte nella diocesi di Arezzo (secoli XII–XIII): Mostra e itinerario urbano*, Loggia di San Donato, Arezzo, 2002 (exhibition catalogue), 18–19. Garrison, *Index*, #513, dates it from 1240 to 1250.

³⁸ For other examples of combined imagery of the *Triumphans* and *Patiens*, see Franco Faranda, "Variazione iconografica dell'icona della croce dipinta nel corso del XIII secolo," *Commentari d'arte: Rivista di critica e storia dell'arte* 36/37 (2007), 8–16.



Fig. 12.6 Cross of Petrus (G530), from the church of Sant'Antonio in Campi Basso, Umbria. Signed "PETRUS PI.T" (*pinxit*) and dated "MCC.X[L?II]" (1242?). Tempera on panel, c. 4'3" × 4'9" (1.3 × 1.47 m). Norcia, Museo della Castellina.

MCC.X(L?II) Petrus pi.t—appear on the base of the Cross, beneath the Mound of Golgotha, in the same location seen on Alberto's Cross, but with "*pi.t*" to identify Petrus as "*pictor*" or the one who "*pinxit*." This may be one of the earliest examples of the Christ Dead crosses, depending on one's interpretation of the damaged numerals.³⁹ While the inscription on Alberto's Cross does not specify whether Alberto is the painter or the patron of the work, the use of *pinxit* by Petrus to identify himself clarifies his role as the painter.⁴⁰

Other than the loss of the upright above the *nimbus* as well as the *cimasa*, and the damage to the base, the Cross is in good condition. It is smaller and

³⁹ Damage to the inscription makes the date unclear; Garrison and Sandberg-Vavalà accept 1242, while Lunghi supports 1212. Compare Garrison, *Index*, #205, Sandberg-Vavalà, *La Croce Dipinta*, 732–33, and Lunghi, *Il crocifisso*, 50–52, based on similarities with a cross in Assisi and descriptions in the *Vita* of St. Francis by Thomas of Celano.

⁴⁰ Refer to note 17.

more intimate than Alberto's, with a sweet and approachable image of Christ. The artist's personal manner of painting is softer, more naturalistic, and less geometric than Alberto's.

Despite these differences, this Cross is significant for its numerous purposeful similarities in both style and iconography to Alberto's Cross, made over a half-century earlier. Petrus omits the skull present on Golgotha on Alberto's Cross, but follows Alberto by showing the blood from the foot wounds of Christ flowing down to Golgotha.

The Cross of Petrus presents the Crucified Christ with eyes closed and head lowered to the side. His brow is furrowed in a U-shape, and his cheeks are gray. The upright side wound drips with blood. Details of the hair, face, and ear are similar to those of Alberto's, but they are softer, with no emphasis on geometry. The arms of Christ are straighter, with the hands higher, accentuating how the weight of the body has pulled down the arms from the shoulders. The body turns in response to death; a decorative border visible on the right of his body, but not on the left, emphasizes this. Although the chest is frontal, the juxtaposition of the feet—they are attached with a single nail—causes this motion, making the proper left leg now visible from the side.

The loincloth is not transparent; it conceals the outline of the body. However, a feature present here is a detail that is difficult for an artist both to understand and to paint. Alberto portrayed with illusionism the way that the folds in the garment displace the pattern of stripes. In the deeper areas of the folds on Alberto's loincloth, the pattern is offset from its position on the lighter higher surface of the cloth. On the Cross of Petrus, the double vertical stripe in the fabric is offset in the lowered sections of the folds, but with less delineation of that part of the stripe. Alberto paints this with more precision, but Petrus shows that he understands the concept. He also borrows the swirl over the hipbone, and uses a different configuration of wrapped loops in the sash of the *perizoma*, a single longer tie, and an angular hem revealing one knee.

On the body of Christ, the chest is far less stylized than that by Alberto, as are the abdominal muscles, although they are divided into six segments. The definition of the muscles in the arms is softer than but similar to Alberto's manner of drawing. Petrus repeats Alberto's inclusion of axillary hair on the figure of Christ, but makes an important addition: he paints pubic hair, in narrow strokes, visible above the sash loops. He also paints nipples on the chest of Christ, the only one to do so in all of my examples.

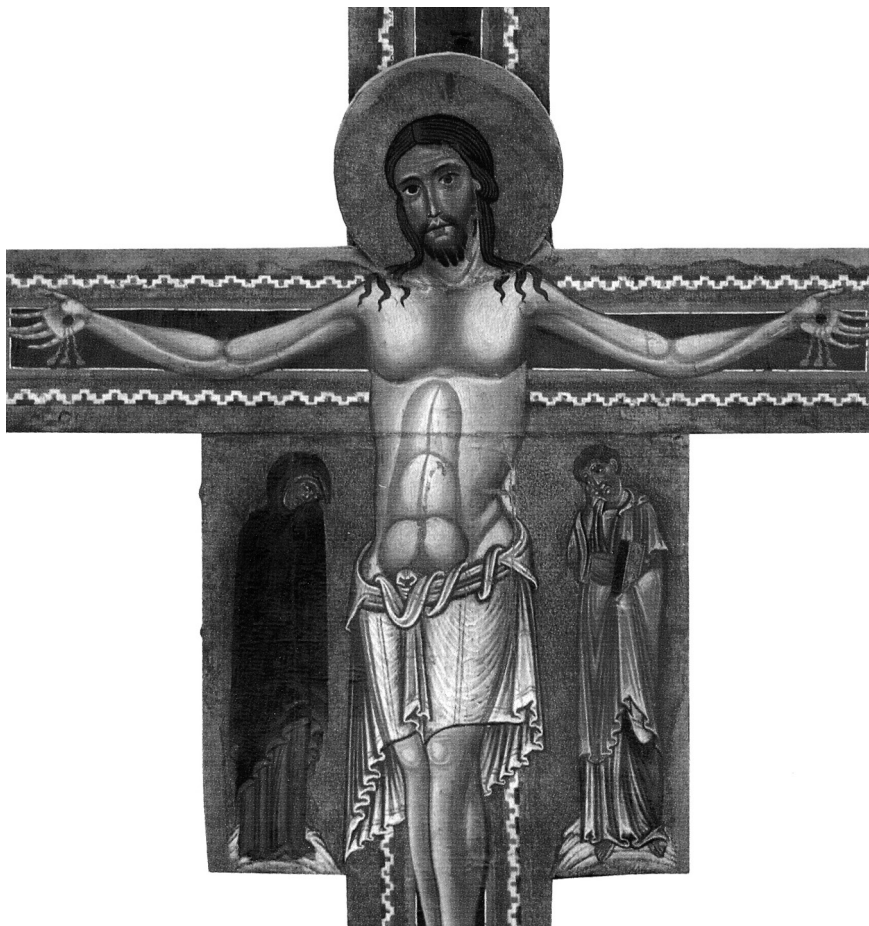
Petrus also adds a detail not visible unless one studies Alberto's Cross with great care: the navel. Before painting, Alberto sketched the entire image, often with its tiny details, using a stylus that made incisions into the gesso as guidelines. He then covered the incisions with paint, and now they are only visible if one looks closely in good light. His incised navel is a casual figure 6, with the loop not joined to the larger curve. Petrus saw this, and in response made the navel almost identical, with a somewhat tighter curl, not a generic "corkscrew" like that on the Castiglion Fiorentino Cross.

By 1242, the date painted on the Cross of Petrus, the imagery of the *Patiens* was well established. Despite this familiarity with the new iconography, Petrus appropriates Alberto's manner of pictorial expression in a number of important details. These quotations are evidence that Petrus "*pictor*" paints with a firm memory of Alberto's Cross and its importance.

The Cross of Margarito d'Arezzo

The Cross of Margarito d'Arezzo, made circa 1250–60 for the Pieve of Santa Maria in Arezzo, Tuscany, is on display in the Museo Statale d'Arte Medievale

Fig. 12.7 Cross of Margarito d'Arezzo (G458), detail. Cross from the Pieve of Santa Maria in Arezzo, Tuscany. Tempera on panel, artist documented in 1262. Museo Statale di Arte Medioevale e Moderna in Arezzo.



e Moderna in Arezzo (Figure 12.7). It has undergone major damage and been reintegrated. At the time it was painted the *Christus Patiens* imagery was widely popular, yet this Tuscan Cross was painted as a *Christus Triumphans*, and continues to quote details from the Cross of Alberto, from Umbria. The figures of Mary and John fill the *tabellone*. The open eyes, the forehead wrinkles, and the rosy cheeks emphasize life as did the Spoleto Cross, yet Margarito omits the side wound. The hairline around the forehead, the shape of the ears, the segments of the beard, the pointed curve under the neck, and the corkscrew curls on the shoulders show knowledge of the Spoleto Cross. The teardrop and oblong muscles of the arms, the pear-shaped six-sectioned abdomen, and the left heel that rests on the right foot also affirm the artist's indebtedness to Alberto.

Margarito includes the blood running down from Christ's feet, but below the footrest is the scene of the Denial of Peter, not the Mound of Golgotha. The decorative border of half-lozenges containing half-cross shapes is heavier than Alberto's, and extends around the entire blue field of the cross-arm, as does that in the Cross from Castiglion Fiorentino. The body of Christ sways slightly, this movement made visible by the inclusion of the border of the Cross on the proper left of his waist.

The first two *Christus Patiens* crosses discussed, from Porziano and Castiglione Fiorentino, made no attempt to reproduce the transparent loincloth on Alberto's figure of Christ. Petrus, the painter of the third Cross presented here, understood Alberto's use of illusionism and worked to imitate it. Margarito d'Arezzo also studied it with care. The ties wrapped in decorative loops at the waist show Margarito's comprehension of those on Alberto's Cross, even though these do not have the identical knot or blue tonality. The white fabric is transparent and allows the flesh tone to show through it. As on the Spoleto Cross, narrow red lines, both vertical and on the hem, decorate the fabric (but Alberto's thin blue lines are not present). The *perizoma* rests on the thigh, and rounded lines indicate the contour of the leg beneath it. At the sides it hangs free from the body, with red lines indicating its silhouette, and ends above the knees, with the hem falling at a 45-degree diagonal. The number of quotations this Tuscan artist selected from the Cross of Alberto in Umbria emphasize his debt to it.

The Crucifix with Scenes of the Passion in the Cleveland Museum of Art

Michele di Baldovino painted the *Christus Triumphans croce dipinta* in the Cleveland Museum of Art in the mid-thirteenth century, when the *Triumphans* was out of fashion (Figures 12.8, 12.9).⁴¹ It is one of a small number of painted

⁴¹ It was probably made for the church of San Martino in Pisa; see the catalogue entry in *Cimabue a Pisa*, 174–7.

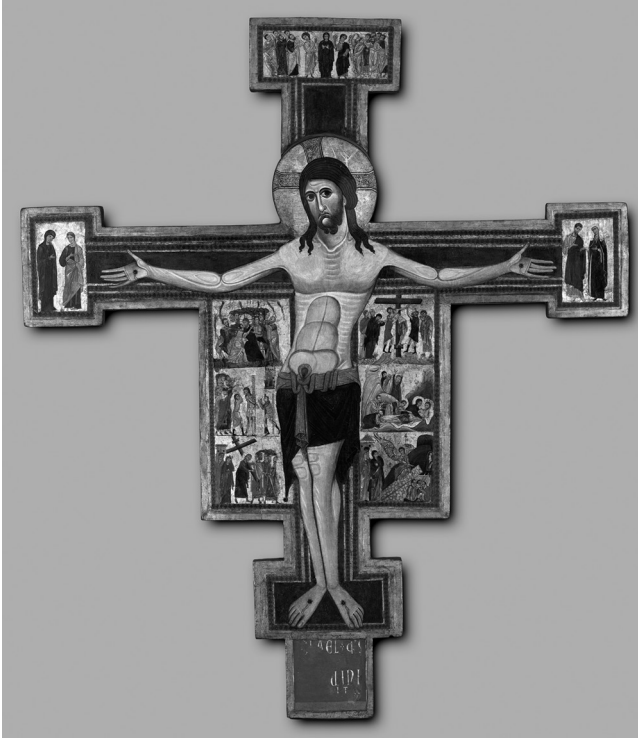


Fig. 12.8 Crucifix with scenes of the Passion, Pisa, c. 1230–40. Tempera with gold on panel, c. 6'1" × 5'3" × 4" (185 × 160 × 10.2 cm). The Cleveland Museum of Art. Leonard C. Hanna, Jr. Fund 1995.5.



Fig. 12.9 Crucifix with scenes of the Passion, detail. Face and body of Christ.

crosses in America. The overall format of this Cross is complex, similar to that of Margarito d'Arezzo's Cross from the same time period. The major difference between these two is the presence of the wide *tabellone* with narrative scenes of the Passion.

What is surprising is the extent to which the artist has studied Alberto's Cross with the *Christus Triumphans*. The shaped *nimbus* recalls the form of the Eucharistic paten. The Cross within it bears a pattern very close to that within Alberto's *nimbus*. Particulars such as the hair with tiny wisps at the part, the definition of the ear, the separate locks of the short beard, the peculiar shape of the end and the flare of the nose, the triangular mustache with dark philtrum, the stethoscope effect from ear to Adam's apple, the tiny loose hairs at the ends of the long locks (but four rather than Alberto's six locks), and the presence of axillary hair all appear to be influenced by Alberto's Cross. While borrowing some details from Alberto, the artist also made others more his own, such as the decorative border. The peculiarities of Alberto's Christ's hands and muscles are present, as is the pear abdomen. Michele di Baldovino, however, was not up to the challenge of Alberto's transparent loincloth. The Cleveland Cross from Pisa represents the highest form of reverence shown to an exceptional artist and his Cross, and is my strongest example of the afterlife of the Cross of Alberto.

Conclusion: The Triumph of Alberto

These five examples of painted crosses, made during the time in which the iconography of the *Christus Triumphans* was giving way to the new imagery of the *Christus Patiens*, yet emulating the Cross of Alberto through the use of his motifs and details, demonstrate the afterlife of Alberto's Cross. They show how a number of the visual strengths of the Cross of Alberto have been admired and found relevant by other artists on other painted crosses.

These strengths come from Alberto's sensitivity to style, shape, material, light, color, and mode of representation. Alberto's pictorial language—his use of color and light, of geometry to tell of divinity and naturalism to represent humanity, of three different reflective qualities (the true gold leaf, the silver leaf covered with saffron varnish, and the curved *alveoli* of the nimbus), the shaped *nimbus* as paten, and of the transparent loincloth to conceal and yet reveal humanity—presents an image that remains full of power and relevance even in an era of changing tastes and theories.

Another strength is in the concept of the Christ Alive. By portraying Christ nailed to the Cross, with the side wound as proof that he is indeed dead, as well as the upright body and the open eyes indicating life, this imagery is able to tell more of the story and allow more of it to be imagined—not just the moment of death, but of the triumph that will come after it.

One final *croce dipinta* that pays homage to the Cross of Alberto does not need to be illustrated. This Cross hangs in the apse of the twelfth-century church of San Paolo Intervineas, on the outskirts of Spoleto. It is a larger-than-life photographic reproduction of the Cross of Alberto. Other images of this Cross appear in both logical and improbable places. Is it surprising to see Alberto's Cross in a small reproduction in the office of Avis Rent-A-Car in the industrial district of Spoleto? Or unexpected to find a shaped photographic reproduction of Alberto's Cross, about 1 meter tall, displayed in one of the offices of the Curia Arcivescovile di Spoleto-Norcia? This Cross of Alberto spoke to the artists of the five crosses just presented, and its meaning continues to resonate today. The afterlife of this particular *croce dipinta* continues, and one watches to see where it will next appear.

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The twelve papers written for this volume reflect the wide scope of Annemarie Weyl Carr's interests and the equally wide impact of her work. The concepts linking the essays include the examination of form and meaning, the relationship between original and copy, and reception and cultural identity in medieval art and architecture.

Carr's work focuses on the object but considers the audience, looks at the copy for retention or rejection of the original form and meaning, and always seeks to understand the relationship between intent and perception. She examines the elusive nature of "center" and "periphery," expanding and enriching the discourse of manuscript production, icons and their copies, and the dissemination of style and meaning. Her body of work is impressive in its chronological scope and geographical extent, as is her ability to tie together aspects of patronage, production and influence across the medieval Mediterranean.

The volume opens with an overview of Carr's career at Southern Methodist University, by Bonnie Wheeler. Kathleen Maxwell, Justine M. Andrews and Pamela A. Patton contribute chapters in which they examine workshops, subgroups and influences in manuscript production and reception. Diliانا Angelova, Lynn Jones and Ida Sinkević offer explorations of intent and reception, focusing on imperial patronage, relics and reliquaries. Cypriot studies are represented by Michele Bacci and Maria Vassilaki, who examine aspects of form and style in architecture and icons. The final chapters, by Jaroslav Folda, Anthony Cutler, Rossitza B. Schroeder and Ann Driscoll, are linked by their focus on the nature of copies, and tease out the ways in which meaning is retained or altered, and the role that is played by intent and reception.

Cover image: Secular banquet, north wall of the exonarthex of the katholikon at Vatopedi Monastery, Mount Athos (Photo: Vatopedi Monastery).

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